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FOREWORD

In the summer of 1954, the campus of the University of Hawaii is the site for what promises to be a monumental conference on Race Relations in World Perspective. For a month, from June 28 to July 23, about forty distinguished scholars from those parts of the world where race relations are dynamic and from the universities where this problem is being studied, are meeting in daily sessions with the expectation of developing their common understandings of the problem and of reaching agreement about crucial research areas.

It is appropriate that such a conference be held in Hawaii, for here, in a narrowly confined island commonwealth has been brought together a unique conglomeration of different peoples. Hawaii is the stage on which the world's race relations problems can be seen in miniature perspective.

The student editors of Social Process are of the conviction that the occasion of this conference is an opportunity for presenting recent developments in interracial Hawaii to the scholars gathered together, as well as to its usual loyal body of readers.

We feel that we have gathered together a representative group of articles, more than half of them written by students, generally in connection with their course work, the others by our teachers, members of the Sociology Department, and one a republishing of a significant article on race prejudice by Dr. Herbert Blumer while he was visiting professor at the University of Hawaii in 1939, in an issue of Social Process now out of print.

Dr. Andrew W. Lind's article summarizes his present views on the overall situation in Hawaii. Dr. Bernhard Hormann's article deals with the sub-groups recognized among the Filipinos and Japanese. The article by Robert Bean tells of the experience of a person of Haole ancestry with the counter-prejudice mentioned by Dr. Blumer at the conclusion of his article.

Several of the articles deal with processes of accommodation and assimilation, Evelyn Yama and Margaret Freeman's with the increasing participation of Orientals in a Haole-dominated firm, Dr. Douglas Yamamura and Raymond Sakumoto's with the gradual decline of residential and occupational segregation, Norman Westly's with changing patterns of residential segregation in a Honolulu neighborhood, Kunio Nagoshi's and Charles Nishimura's with changing conceptions of inter-marriage, and Edna Oshiro's, with the remarkable Americanization of her immigrant mother.

THE EDITOR

CHANGING RACE RELATIONS IN HAWAII

Andrew W. Lind

Like the Christian Gospel to St. Paul, Hawaii may be described as "all things to all men." To a visiting journalist after three months of observation, Hawaii seemed to be the one place in all the world in which "race antipathies have disappeared and race injustices are not in vogue."[1] To an American Admiral of several years' residence in Hawaii, it is a land of strong racial feelings in which the "dominant white race is cordially disliked by practically all the oriental races," and in which these sparks of dislike may be readily "fanned into active race hatred."[2] Another journalist of national reputation, after digesting most of the literature on the social life of the Islands, concludes that "perhaps the most airtight economic oligarchy in the world" controls the Territory for its own selfish interests and that it may well reap the whirlwind with respect to "future race disturbances."[3] Finally, a nationally famous public relations expert summarizes a recent summer's investigation of race relations in the Islands with the assertion that "Hawaii is possibly as nearly democratic as any community in the world."[4] Actually, it is neither speaking in riddles nor being sentimental to say that Hawaii is all of these things and none of them.

In simple fact, Hawaii is neither the racial paradise that some observers would make of it, nor is it a racial hell as others contend, but probably it holds a little of both. As in the case of most matters of social experience, the perspective from which one observes determines so largely what the investigator finds. The newly arrived visitor to Hawaii, depending upon his previous expectations and inclinations, may find either "the magic isles" where America's ideals of racial equality are gloriously realized or the sorry disappointment of high hopes, but his reactions to the island scene are almost certain to change somewhat with longer experience and more extensive contacts. In any case, what really counts is not so much the formal facts, for example, of the presence or absence of laws or regulations governing race relations, or of the existence or absence of racially segregated areas, but the way in which the people of Hawaii have come to interpret these facts. Nor is it possible in this case to say that the cold, analytical eye of science will reveal where the truth lies, since careful and dispassionate study yields evidence that Hawaii has many and changing faces.

The Setting for Race Relations in Hawaii

Geographic isolation was undoubtedly one important factor in Hawaii's unique racial experience. Located more than two thousand miles from its nearest continental neighbors, these islands were late in being discovered by the land-hungry nations of Europe, and this fact also militated against

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[1] William Allen White, "The Last of the Magic Isles," Survey Graphic, IX, 2 (May, 1926), p. 176.

[2] Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr.; quoted in Law Enforcement in the Territory of Hawaii, Senate Document 78, 72nd Congress, first session, (1932), p. 198.

[3] Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin.

[4] Edward L. Bernays, "Hawaii--the Almost Perfect State," New Leader, (November 20, 1950), pp. 10-13.

Hawaii's being swallowed up so readily by the colonizing powers of the West. Captain Cook's discovery of the Islands in 1778 was purely incidental to European interests in the North American continent, and although he recognized the strategic significance of Hawaii as a way-station on the long haul across the Pacific, eight years elapsed before another British ship even stopped at the Sandwich Islands, as Hawaii was then known. By virtue of its infinitesimal size and its location near the center of the vast Pacific, Hawaii's people were spared the fate of areas more conveniently situated of early subjugation by any one of the great empire builders of the West.

Hawaii's contacts with the Western world were initiated by an explorer whose immediate interest in the Islands was chiefly in acquiring fresh supplies of water, meat, fruit, and vegetables in exchange for "nails and iron tools." Had Captain Cook or any of the European and American explorers and traders who visited Hawaii during the first fifty years of Western contact been concerned about adding to the territorial dominions of their homelands, the history of race relations in these islands would have been quite different. The one serious breach in the friendly relations between Captain Cook and the natives of Hawaii, ending in the death of the famous explorer, was apparently a natural consequence of a series of minor demonstrations of armed force and high-handedness by the crews of the Discovery and the Resolution. But even this tragic incident did not result in reprisals by the British.

Subsequent visits from other British, American, Austrian, French, Russian, and Spanish exploring and trading vessels further confirmed the tradition of equalitarian race relations already established by Captain Cook. An occasional act of violence, such as the killing of the four members of the crew of Captain Vancouver's supply ship in 1792, the wanton slaughter of more than a hundred defenseless natives by an American trading captain in retaliation for an attack upon his ship, or the temporary seizure of the islands by Lord Paulet in 1843, might threaten but could not destroy the amicable relations between the Polynesians and the foreign visitors.

During most of the period prior to 1850, the values governing the associations between Polynesians and Whites were those of the market place - of the free and impersonal exchange of goods and services, uninfluenced by considerations of skin color or cultural values. Each group had skills or goods which the others desired, and neither group could afford to be disrespectful or obnoxious toward the other. The Westerner, if he wished to remain in the islands, had to defer to the customs and practices of Hawaii, and similarly the natives could not abuse the foreigners whose goods or services they wished to enjoy. Moral and racial tolerance was in Hawaii, as elsewhere, a by-product of the market place.

A second set of values conducive to friendly relations between Western visitors and the natives emanated from the missionary movement beginning in 1820 with the landing of the first contingent of seventeen New England Congregationalists. The missionaries and particularly their women were somewhat disposed to transfer to Hawaii their New England familial values adverse to interracial marriage and to insist upon the necessity of protecting themselves and their children from the contaminating influence of Hawaiian culture. On the other hand, the Christian faith they came to propagate in Hawaii assumed the inherent value of all men, in the sight of God, and a common claim to human treatment. Although the missionaries were relentless foes of "the iniquity and the scum of ages," which they found in native culture, they could hardly justify their life work without also insisting upon the potential merit of those whom they sought to convert.

Torn though they were by divided sentiments toward the natives, the Protestant missionaries in Hawaii during the greater part of the 19th century were strong supporters of the pattern of racial equality already established by the traders. Following the lead of William Richards, one of the early missionaries who in 1839 entered the employ of the King as an adviser on matters relating to the State, numerous Protestant missionaries accepted important posts in the cabinet and loyally protected the interest of a native sovereign against the encroachment of Western nations.

The Catholic and Mormon variants of the Christian missionary movement had only a slightly different effect upon Island race relations. The Catholics were less intolerant than the Protestants in their condemnation of native customs, and they were also more favorably inclined toward interracial marriage, particularly when it involved persons of the Catholic faith. The Mormons, although possibly even more restrained than the Protestants, gave special dignity to the Hawaiians as "one of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel".

A third set of values, introduced to Hawaii during the middle of the nineteenth century in the form of plantation agriculture, threatened for a time to undermine the established practices of racial equality. The plantation is of course first and foremost an economic institution, designed to utilize more effectively vast sections of agricultural land on the frontier, but it also necessarily acquires a political character as a means of control over the limited supply of labor. Confronted with the problem of conducting a profitable, economic venture in a region of "open resources,"[5] the planters of Hawaii found it necessary to import numerous non-white labor groups, and then to impose upon them various coercive controls, including a rigid system of occupational and residential segregation.

It was, in brief, through the plantations that the first clearly defined pattern of stratification by race was initiated in Hawaii. During most of the sixty-year-period prior to World War II when sugar and pineapple production dominated Hawaii's economic life, a fairly distinct barrier of social distances separated the proprietary white from the large mass of non-white laborers on the plantations, and a further social gradation of the other racial groups at the lower levels of the plantation occupational pyramid also emerged. That the social hierarchy within the plantation communities of Hawaii never attained the rigidity of a cast structure, as on many other plantation frontiers, is largely a consequence of the strong competition provided by the well established trading and commercial centers of Hawaii. Moreover, as the Hawaiian economy has shifted from one of open resources to one of closed resources, in which labor is relatively plentiful, the necessity of maintaining a rigid system of control through racial barriers has also tended to decline. Under the conditions of a glutted labor market which prevails today, the plantation can afford to relinquish the rigid controls over their workers, and to promote workers within the system on the basis of individual merit rather than of race.

Still another set of values affecting race relations in Hawaii was introduced by American political and military forces during the past seventy-five years. American commercial interests in the Islands, desirous of

[5] A term derived from H. J. Nieboer, Slavery as an Industrial System, referring to a region in which land and other natural resources essential for livelihood are readily accessible to the entire population, and in which there is consequently little motivation for selling one's labor to someone else.

safeguarding their own investments, and of securing special advantages by incorporation within the American commonwealth, had agitated openly for Annexation as early as 1850. Like other foreign nationals in Hawaii, they had also sought the intervention of foreign gunboats to influence their claims against the Hawaiian chiefs and royalty since early in the nineteenth century. Although American and other foreigners, operating behind the scenes, had significantly influenced the policies of the Hawaiian Kingdom during most of the century, it was not until 1892 that even the trappings of native control were finally abandoned. The actual transfer of sovereignty to the United States in 1898 was naturally resisted by many Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, who regarded it as a public confession that the indigenous people could not manage their own affairs. Since Annexation, the American constitutional guarantees of equality before the law have applied to all persons regardless of racial ancestry with, however, certain special economic advantages provided under the Organic Act to Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians.

The direct impact of the armed forces upon Hawaiian race relations began to be noticeable after 1920, at which time there were less than 4,000 military personnel in the Islands. This element of the population, recruited chiefly from continental United States and indoctrinated with its racial attitudes, constituted in 1940 nearly 60% of the employed males of Caucasian ancestry in Hawaii, and during World War II there were times when the military completely outnumbered the adult civilian population of the Islands. Distinctions of rank appropriate to the armed forces are readily converted to racial discrimination in a situation such as Hawaii's. During World War II, the newly arrived servicemen were prone to use such opprobrious terms as "gook", "nigger," "slant eyes", and "yellow belly" indiscriminately toward any and all non-Caucasians, with the resulting tendency of the latter to counter with "white trash," or "damn haole." Moreover, in their search for feminine companionship, the enlisted men soon learned to cross racial lines, and thereby drew upon themselves the wrath of the Island-born males, especially of non-Caucasian ancestry.

A final set of influences affecting Hawaiian race relations emanates from the horde of tourists who descend upon the Islands in increasing numbers each year. The tourist is a somewhat unpredictable individual, and his effect upon the local scene is therefore difficult to define and evaluate with precision. In most instances, he comes with the racial attitudes and prejudices of the home community, but as a tourist, he is also seeking to escape from the confining values which his family and friends inevitably impose. Thus, the tourists may arrive in Hawaii with the same stereotyped racial attitudes as the military, but being in search of adventure and stimulation, he may also discard these prejudices with surprising ease.

Shifting Ethnic Frontiers

The composite effect of such varied factors upon race relations in Hawaii is naturally difficult to trace. Contrary to popular impressions, the Island pattern of social organization is by no means a simple one. The close intermingling of ethnic groups within certain portions of Honolulu is a far cry from the sharp segregation on the basis of race which still occurs on some of the remote plantations. Paradoxically, however, the city also comes closer to a policy of residential segregation than any other area of the Territory. Despite the euqalitarian atmosphere which generally characterizes the commercial frontier, it is in Honolulu and in Hilo that we find the most striking persistence of old country traditions and exclusiveness.

The very definitions of race which have existed in Hawaii bespeak a flexible and shifting social situation. The initial distinction between the native Hawaiians and the European and American visitors to the Islands was obvious from the outset on the basis of physical appearance and culture. The natives applied the term haole, signifying stranger, to all foreigners who came to the Islands, and since most of the early visitors were white-complexioned, the word soon came to denote exclusively persons of North European and American ancestry. Many of these early visitors acquired positions of superior economic and social status and thus added a class connotation to the term. Thus, individuals of European ancestry brought into Hawaii as ordinary plantation laborers, including the Spanish and Portuguese, were not classified as Haoles, but each constituted a separate racial group.

In a similar manner, the other people recruited as workers for the plantations have been differentiated from the Haoles and have acquired separate racial designations. A hundred years ago, the racial terms used in the Hawaiian census reflected the widely varied peoples of a predominantly trading frontier. In 1853, the 1800 persons of foreign birth in Hawaii were reported as coming from thirty-three different countries or regions of the world, including the United States, Great Britain, Ireland, Holland, Germany, Turkey, Africa, China, and the Philippines. Thirty years later, the expanding influence of the plantation was especially marked in the separate designations given in the census to such recently recruited groups as the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and Polynesians, as well as Germans and Norwegians. Fluctuating plantation labor policies were responsible for the appearance of still other racial groups including the Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos in the census designations after 1900. The combined effect of the grossly disproportionate sex ratios among the plantation immigrants and of the democratizing role of the commercial centers helped to create a sizable group of Caucasian-Hawaiians and Asiatic-Hawaiians after Annexation, and these same forces also speeded the disappearance of separate groups of Germans, Norwegians, Portuguese, and Spanish.

It is obvious that the shifting racial designations of Hawaii do not conform with the strict definitions evolved by the physical anthropologists. Race has been identified in Hawaii with national origin, language, food practices, religion, type of clothing, and only incidentally with the supposedly unchanging and genetically transmitted physical hall-marks of race. The 180,000 individuals from some forty-five different provinces in Japan, although differing considerably in their physical appearance, language, and custom, were all treated as a single racial unit distinct from the Koreans, Chinese, and Filipinos. For a short while during and after World War II, it seemed possible that a new race might be "discovered" in the 30,000 Okinawans and their descendants who differed significantly from the rest of the Japanese in Hawaii, but apparently the awareness of these differences in the wider community were not sufficient to bring this potential racial group into full existence.

On the other hand, the relatively small group of less than six thousand Puerto Rican immigrants, with wide variations in physical appearance owing to different admixtures of Indian, Negro, and Spanish blood, have always been conceived as a single racial unit. So also the 2,500 South Sea Islanders, recruited from a score of different island groups scattered throughout the Pacific and differing markedly from each other in appearance, language, and culture, were regarded commonly as a single racial group during the years that they remained in Hawaii.

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF HAWAII BY RACE IN CENSUSES OF 1884, 1920 and 1950

	1884		1920		1950	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Hawaiian	40,014	49.6	23,723	9.3	12,205	2.4
Part-Hawaiian	4,218	5.2	18,027	7.0	13,885	14.8
Caucasian-Hawaiian			11,072	4.3		
Asiatic-Hawaiian			6,955	2.7		
Other Polynesians	956	1.2				
Caucasian	16,919	21.0	49,140	19.3	114,793	23.0
German	1,600	2.0				
Norwegian	362	.5				
Portuguese	9,377	11.6	27,002	10.6		
Spanish			2,430	1.0		
Haole (Other Caucasian)	5,580	6.9	19,708	7.7		
Chinese	17,939	22.3	23,507	9.2	32,376	6.5
Japanese	116	.1	109,274	42.7	184,598	36.9
Korean			4,950	1.9	7,030	1.4
Filipino			21,031	8.2	61,062	12.2
Puerto Rican			5,602	2.2	9,551	1.9
Negro			348	.1	2,651	.5
All Others	416	.5	310	.1	1,618	.3
TOTAL	80,578		255,912		499,769	

Present tendencies point clearly in the direction of a continuing decline in the number of recognized racial groups in Hawaii. Each of the last two census enumerations in the Islands has shown a further merging of the racial designations in use. In 1940, the separate listing of part-Hawaiians as either Caucasian-Hawaiians or Asiatic-Hawaiians was abandoned, and at the same time, the Portuguese and Spanish were combined with the other Caucasians under the blanket term of Caucasians. Ten years later, the dubious distinction between Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians was officially dropped.

The mounting number of persons of mixed racial ancestry in the population makes the continued use of the ordinary racial designation untenable, and those charged with the keeping of Hawaii's vital statistics are disposed to set up a single, new category--the Cosmopolitans--for the innumerable varieties of mixed bloods which are emerging at the expense of the racial groups ordinarily listed. The 1950 census reveals that in addition to the 73,885 persons of mixed Hawaiian ancestry--formerly classified as part-Hawaiians--there were 20,337 other racial hybrids in the population of the Islands.[6] The combined population of mixed racial ancestry constituted slightly less than one-fifth of the entire population of the Territory, but judging by the increasing proportion of children born of mixed racial parentage, it is reasonable to expect that by the end of the present century nearly one-half of Hawaii's population will consist of racial hybrids.

[6] This does not include the racial hybrids born outside of Hawaii, such as the Filipino mestizos or most of the Puerto Ricans, but who tend to be classified here as pure-bloods.

TABLE 2

BIRTHS BY RACE OF PARENTS IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

July 1, 1946--December 31, 1950*

Race of Father	Race of Mother												
	Total	Haw'n.	Part Haw'n.	Puerto Rican	Cauca-sian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Others	Un-known	% Births Mixed
Hawaiian	1528	576	727	11	72	36	67	13	22	4		62.3
Part-Hawaiian	6892	574	4175	73	690	472	541	94	234	37	2	100.0
Puerto Rican	1126	38	147	650	155	14	31	5	78	8		42.3
Caucasian	16485	294	2209	270	1369	345	1207	236	480	73	2	31.0
Chinese	3499	45	482	11	118	2481	270	64	28		2	29.1
Japanese	17621	37	369	13	235	129	16744	56	38			5.7
Korean	726	13	96	2	46	58	158	335	17	1		53.9
Filipino	6832	363	1075	178	324	107	387	42	4333	23		36.6
Others	490	28	125	27	56	9	27	7	42	168		
Unknown	1544	147	543	94	211	46	309	28	155	11		
Total	56732	2115	9948	1329	13276	3697	19741	880	5421	325		
% Births of Mixed Ancestry		72.8	100.0	51.1	24.4	33.9	15.2	61.1	20.1			

*(Last 6 months of 1948 omitted)

One-third of the children born in Hawaii during the four-year-period, 1946-1950, were of mixed racial ancestry as compared with 22.4 per cent in the period, 1931-1933. It is obvious that all of Hawaii's racial groups have been involved in this process, with the smaller groups and those with the highest sex disproportions participating more extensively than the larger groups and those with more normal sex ratios. Allowing for the excessive sex disproportions which still exist in the plantation and military areas of Hawaii, it is the commercial centers which have most facilitated the process of miscegenation, and in which we find the highest proportions of births of mixed racial ancestry.

Another major consequence of the presence and interaction of the several social frontiers in Hawaii has been a series of important changes in the occupational spread of the recognized racial groups. Seventy years ago when the plantations were just being launched in Hawaii, nearly three quarters of all the workers in the Kingdom were classified as laborers and consisted chiefly of the recently recruited immigrant groups such as the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and South Sea Islanders. The 1890 census, for example, reported that while these four racial groups constituted 89 per cent of the laborers, they made up less than 10 per cent of the professional personnel in the Islands. The Haoles, on the other hand, made up less than 1 per cent of the laborers, and nearly 70 per cent of the professionals.

A marked improvement in the opportunities for the immigrant groups to participate in the preferred occupations has taken place during the past 50 years, with the gradual shift in Hawaii's economy from plantation agriculture to commercial pursuits and the servicing of tourists and military personnel.

Although the Caucasians still enjoy a distinct advantage over the other ethnic groups in such fields as the professions and managerial and proprietary occupations, it is clear that all the other racial groups, including the most recently arrived Filipinos, also share in these fields. The three

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN MAJOR OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED MALES IN TERRITORY OF HAWAII BY RACE, 1950

Major Occupational Groups	All Races	Haw'n.	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers	7.3	5.7	16.9	10.7	1.2	5.4
Managers, Officials & Proprietors	12.6	7.9	18.5	20.0	3.0	15.1
Clerical & Sales Workers	12.4	9.9	14.1	26.1	3.4	14.9
Craftsmen and Foremen	20.9	22.9	21.3	18.4	7.5	27.7
Operatives	16.0	20.1	12.7	11.3	19.9	14.9
Service workers including private household workers	7.7	10.0	6.7	7.8	11.2	5.3
Laborers	22.5	22.6	8.9	5.3	53.5	16.3

Oriental groups, in order of their arrival in the Territory, have achieved positions at the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy, and even though the Filipinos have lagged far behind the other ethnic groups in the competitive struggle, it is noteworthy that they are represented in the preferred occupations, and that they will doubtless improve their status in the future.[7] The population of pure or mixed Hawaiian ancestry, although over-represented in the professions as recently as 1930, has not kept pace with the Japanese and Chinese during the last two decades. The Hawaiians, on the other hand, have excelled in the skilled and semi-skilled vocations. The Chinese and Caucasians have been least represented as unskilled laborers, with the Filipinos quite naturally most highly represented.

Summary

Despite its relatively small size and geographical isolation, Hawaii presents a picture of surprising contrast in the nature of its inter-ethnic relations. The interested observer can find evidence of both racial equality and racial inequality, depending upon where he looks. The sharply diversified character of the commercial, missionary, plantation, military and tourist frontiers has created an interracial situation of far greater complexity than is commonly assumed.

Race relations were initiated in Hawaii on the equlitarian basis inherent in trade, and this pattern was later re-enforced by the missionaries. It was not until considerably later that the sharply contrasted conceptions of race relations associated with the plantation and the military institutions were established with varying intensities in different parts of the Islands. The shifting and indeterminate influences of the tourists are only now beginning to be of paramount importance in the Territory.

The net effect of the forces outlined in this paper is reflected partially in the increasing rates of miscegenation and in the widening range of occupational opportunities for even the latest immigrant arrivals. The analysis of the stresses upon the individuals caught in the various cross-currents of such a complex social system would take us far beyond the confines of this paper, but is part of the unfinished task of the social scientists in Hawaii.

[7] In 1940, the Filipinos were only one-half as well represented in these two occupational groups as they were in 1950.

THE NATURE OF RACE PREJUDICE*

Herbert Blumer

When one views the recent and present relations between races in different parts of the world he must necessarily be impressed by the magnitude, the tenacity, and the apparent spontaneity of racial prejudice. That it is exceedingly common can scarcely be denied. That it may persist as a chronic attitude over decades of time can be shown by several instances. That it may emerge immediately in new contacts between races can be easily documented, especially in the contacts of whites with other ethnic groups. Indeed, so impressive is its extensiveness, persistency, and apparent spontaneity that many students regard it as inevitable. They believe that it arises from some simple biological tendency--such as an innate aversion of race to race--which is bound to express itself and to dominate race relations.

Interestingly enough, the actual facts of race relations force us to adopt a very different view. For, frequently, racial prejudice may not appear in racial contacts; if present, it may disappear; or, although present, it may not dominate the relations. Instead of thinking of racial prejudice as an invariant and simple matter it must be viewed as a highly variable and complex phenomenon. This is shown, first of all, by the markedly differing character of race relations themselves. There are many instances where members of divergent races may associate in the most amiable and free fashion, intermarrying and erecting no ethnic barriers between them. In other instances there may prevail rigid racial exclusion supported by intense attitudes of discrimination.

Between these extremes there may be other forms of association. Further, the history of any fairly prolonged association between any two ethnic groups usually does not show the continuous existence of any fixed or invariant relation. Instead the association and the attitudes which sustain it usually pass through a variety of form. The markedly differing and variable nature of race relations should make it clear that racial prejudice is not inevitable or bound to dominate the relations. Even though it be very common and very tenacious it must be recognized as merely one form of ethnic relation. It must or may not be present; and even where present, it usually arises inside of a temporal sequence of relations.

Even more important is the realization that racial prejudice is highly variable itself. Instead of always having the same form, nature, and intensity, it may differ a great deal from time to time and from place to place. A comparison of instances of racial prejudice shows that it may differ in intensity, in quality of feeling, in the views by which it is supported, and in manifestation. The prejudice of the American southerner toward the Negro may be great, but it is recognized by many as being less than that of the South Africa white toward his colored neighbors. The attitude of prejudice of the gentile toward the Jew has varied in intensity and form from locality to locality and from time to time. Ethnic prejudice may be bitter in one situation and mild in another. The fact that we generally speak of an increase or decrease of prejudice points to its variability. Thus, while prejudice is very real and obstrusive, and while it is permissable to treat it as a type phenomenon, recognition must be taken of its changeable and differing character.

*With the permission of the author we are reproducing his contribution to Social Process, Vol. V.

The fact that prejudice is not a constant accompaniment of race relations, and that it is variable in its nature, indicates that it is a product of certain kinds of situations and experiences. Two problems are immediately suggested: (1) what are the situations which give rise to racial prejudice, and (2) what experiences account for the variation in its nature and form. Before discussing these two problems it is advisable to consider briefly the nature of race prejudice and point out some of the features by which it is usually identified.

Racial prejudice always exists as a group prejudice directed against another group. This means two important things: (1) it exists as a collective or shared attitude, and (2) it is directed toward a conceptualized group or abstract category. Each of these two features requires some explanation. Race prejudice is a collective or shared attitude in the sense that it is held by a number of people, who stimulate one another in the expression of the attitude. Through this form of interaction they build up, sustain, and reinforce the attitude in one another. Through conversation, through the observation of one another's actions, through relating one's experiences, through the expression of one's feelings and emotions before others, through circulating tales, stories and myths, the members of an ethnic group come to build up a common or collectively shared attitude. This shared character of the attitude of racial prejudice raises the interesting question as to how far the attitude is shaped by the inter-transmission of experience rather than by direct contact with the group toward which the attitude is directed. All that needs to be indicated here is that its character will differ in accordance with what enters into these collective experiences.

In speaking of race prejudice as directed toward a "conceptualized group" or abstract category, all that is meant is that the object toward which it is directed represents a classification of individuals and so is an abstract category inside of which we conceptually arrange individuals. For example, we may speak of prejudice against the Jew, the Negro, or the Oriental; in these cases, the Jew, the Negro, and the Oriental stand respectively for certain large classifications or categories in which we conceptually arrange people. The prejudice exists as an attitude toward the classification or is built up around the conceptualized object which stands for the classification. Or, paradoxically, we may say that the prejudice exists as an attitude toward what is logically an abstraction.[1] The prejudice is manifested against a specific individual by identifying the individual with the conceptualized object and then directing towards him the attitude that one has toward the conceptualized object. Thus one may identify an individual as being a Negro, and thus be led to direct towards him the attitude that one has toward the Negro. If a Negro successfully disguises himself (as by wearing a turban which gives him the appearance of being a Hindu) so that he is not detected or classified as a Negro, he will escape the attitude which is held toward the Negro. Perhaps all this is obvious; but it is important to recognize that racial prejudice is directed toward a conceptualized object, and that individuals come to bear the brunt of this prejudice to the extent to which they are identified with the conceptualized object.

The two features which we have just discussed--the fact that the attitude is a product of collective experience, and that it is directed toward

[1] This point is of considerable importance because where the object of a group attitude is an abstraction it is possible to build up toward it very weird and extreme notions which may vary widely from the facts of concrete experience.

a conceptualized object--are intimately interrelated. Generally we may say (a) that the content of the collective experience determines the form and nature of the conceptualized object, and (b) that the conceptualized object becomes a framework inside of which collective experience may take place. Let us explain each of these two statements. With reference to the first statement it should be pointed out, first of all, that the content of collective experience of one group will determine what classifications they will make of other peoples and so what conceptualized objects they will build up. This gives to the conceptualized objects a somewhat arbitrary character. Thus the American gentile will ordinarily have a concept of the Jew which takes no recognition of the keen conceptual differentiations that the Jews are liable to make among themselves, such as between Spanish Jews, German Jews, Russian Jews, or Polish Jews. Or the American white may conceive the Negro as consisting of individuals who have any trace of Negro ancestry, whereas what the Frenchman means by the Negro is likely to be a very much narrower group. Many other instances could be given; but the illustrations will suffice to show that the particular classifications which are made or which are selected out may vary considerably. The variation seems to be due to the differences of group experience. Not only is the form of the conceptualized object determined by collective experience but the way in which the object is conceived is determined by this experience. This should be self evident. Southern whites with their experiences during slavery and following the civil war formed a conception of the Negro which was necessarily different from that developed by the whites in Brazil, where the line of experience was significantly different.

While the conceptualized object is formed, shaped, and colored by the experiences of the group, it is equally true that the conceptualized object orders, directs and constrains the experiences of the group. So we come to explain statement (b) mentioned above. When a concept of an ethnic group is formed and that group is conceived in a certain way, the concept and the conception will influence to a large extent the kind of experiences that people will have in their association with members of that ethnic group. They will subject this association to the form and framework that is laid down by their concept and conceptions of the ethnic group; accordingly, the kind of experiences they have with members of another ethnic group is largely coerced by this frame work. The southern white in his contact with a Negro acts toward him on the basis of a pretty fixed conception that he has of him, expects from him a certain kind of behavior, is sensitized to perceive certain actions, is prepared to interpret these actions in well-defined ways, and is ready to respond emotionally in a fixed manner. This will suggest how the conceptualized object which is had of a race may largely predetermine the collective experiences that come from association with members of that race. Reasons will be given later to suggest why this predetermination of experience by the conceptualized object may become rigid and extreme, and under what conditions it may be slight and malleable. Here it is sufficient merely to point out that collective experience and conceptualization interact to control one another, and to suggest that this mutual control may become so tight that they become essentially one, or their natures identical.

The experiences of ethnic group A with ethnic group B, built up as they are largely in terms of the interaction inside of group A, will reflect themselves in the conception which group A has of group B; this conception will largely control the nature of the experiences which the members of group A have with group B, and the way in which they digest these experiences in their interaction with one another. The history of race prejudice is a history of the interaction between concept and experience. This

is what is involved, then, in the statement that race prejudice is a case of prejudice of one group against another group.[2]

It is time now to consider what is peculiar to the attitude of racial prejudice--what distinguishes it from other kinds of racial attitudes. The usual tendency is to regard this attitude as simple or unitary, as if it were made up of a single feeling such as dislike or hatred. Such a view, however, is impossible and cannot be squared with facts. Admittedly, the chief feeling in racial prejudice is usually a feeling of dislike or an impulse of aversion; but it is a mistake to regard such a feeling or impulse as the only one, or even necessarily always the main one. Instead, racial prejudice is made up of a variety of feelings and impulses which in different situations enter into the attitude in differing combinations and differing proportions. Hatred, dislike, resentment, distrust, envy, fear, feelings of obligation, possessive impulses, secret curiosities, sexual interest, destructive impulses, guilt--these are some of the feelings and impulses which may enter into racial prejudice and which in their different combinations give it a differing character. Some of these feelings and impulses may be vivid and easily identified; others are obscure; and still others may be present without their presence been realized. We are forced, I think, to realize that the attitude of racial prejudice is constituted and sustained by a variety of impulses and feelings; and that it gets its peculiar complexion from the peculiar nature of these impulses and feelings. In this way we can account for the differences in racial prejudice that have already been mentioned. The impulses and feelings that come to be embodied in a given instance of racial prejudice have been induced and shaped by the past and present experiences of the given ethnic group. From this point of view we can regard race prejudice as a medium for the expression of various feelings and impulses, some of which may be the consequence of experiences that have no reference to the group against which the prejudice is manifested.

The complexity of the constituent and sustaining elements of an attitude of race prejudice makes it difficult to explain exhaustively the experiences and situations that give rise to racial prejudice. Yet, certain of the more important lines of origin can be pointed out. One of them, undoubtedly, is the general ethnocentrism of groups, showing itself in some aversion to strange and peculiar ways of living, and in a feeling of the inherent superiority of one's own group. There seems to be little doubt that many actions of a strange and alien group may appear uncouth and sometimes repulsive and lead to the formation of an unfavorable impression which may come to be built up into a collective attitude. Such an attitude because it springs from the perception of actions which seem to be offensive and occasionally disgusting may get rooted in the antipathies of people. In addition the general feeling of the superiority of one's own group leads easily to the tendency to disparage other groups, to discriminate against them, and to take advantage of them. There seems to be little doubt that ethnocentrism, in these two phases, is a primitive tendency of group life; as such it must be reckoned with as a nucleus around which an attitude of racial prejudice may develop. And the greater the ethnocentrism, the greater is the likelihood that it may lead to group prejudice. Something

[2]It is clear that whether an individual generalizes his distasteful or thwarting experiences into an attitude or prejudice against a group depends largely on the presence of conceptualized objects in his culture. An American white may have highly distasteful experiences with one or several red-headed people; he is very unlikely to develop an attitude of prejudice against the "red-head", because in American culture there is no conceptualization of the "red-head" which would encourage this.

of this is to be seen in the frequency with which racial prejudice appears among expanding imperialistic peoples.

Yet, however important ethnocentrism may be as a factor in racial prejudice, it does not seem to be the decisive factor. Of more importance is what amounts to a primitive tribal tendency in the form of fear of an attack, or displacement, or of annihilation. This is suggested by the nature of the situations where racial prejudice is usually most pronounced and serious. Racial prejudice is usually most acute in a social situation which has the following characteristics.

1) The two ethnic groups live together in some degree. The subordinate ethnic group is accepted to some extent, in the sense that it is associated with an depended upon by the dominant ethnic group. The relation between the two groups may be one of mere accommodation or symbiosis, but in any event, the two groups live together inside of a common territory as parts of a unitary society.

2) The acceptance of the subordinate ethnic group, however, is limited and involves various kinds of exclusion and discrimination. There are certain privileges and opportunities which its members are regarded as not being entitled to. In this sense, the subordinate ethnic group is assigned to an inferior status or, is frequently said, it is expected to keep to a certain place.

   The same kind of experiences with Negros might easily lead him to form a prejudiced attitude against the Negro; in this instance the form of conceptualization would easily permit and justify such a generalization of experience. Further, even if one does develop an attitude of prejudice against a conceptualized group built up out of his own experience it is likely to be weak and ineffective unless shared by his fellows. One is largely sustained in his attitude by the reinforcement which he gets from his fellows.

3) The dominant ethnic group has a fear that the subordinate group is not keeping to its place but threatens to claim the opportunities and privileges from which it has been excluded. As such, it is sensed and felt as a threat to the status, security, and welfare of the dominant ethnic group.

It is in a social situation with these three features that racial prejudice seems to have its primary setting. As the saying goes, as long as the subordinate ethnic group keeps to its place, prejudice toward it is at a minimum. Indications of getting out of its place are felt by the dominant ethnic group as an attack and invoke primitive feelings of tribal protection and preservation. Some of the areas of exclusion have a particularly strong symbolic significance, so that entrance into such areas is an especially acute sign of what is felt to be unwarranted and dangerous aggression and attack. Unaccustomed economic competition ranks high here; also entrance into the more intimate sphere of exclusion. What adds peculiarity to this feeling of being attacked is the fact that the dominant and subordinate ethnic groups, as mentioned above, are usually living together. This means that the attack seems to come from an "inner-enemy;" the resulting apprehension seems to be of peculiar complexity--more abiding, more perplexing, more worrisome and more unstable. The fact that the threatening group must be accepted yields an anomalous and instable character to the feelings of apprehension.

The greater the threat which is felt, the great is likely to be the prejudice. The size of the subordinate ethnic group, its degree of militancy,

its degree of clannishness, and the extent of its claims are factors which are likely to determine the extent of the threat. On the side of the dominant ethnic group, the degree of ethnocentrism, the degree of tribal solidarity, the rigidity of the idea of its own status, and the tightness of the lines of exclusion which it lays down are factors which increase the likelihood of its construing actions as an attack upon it.

The foregoing discussion should make clear the general character of racial prejudice and the lines along which it is formed. If ethnic contacts are attended by feelings of ethnocentrism, and if the ethnic group in the dominant position feels that its common status is insecure and is under the threat of an attack by a subordinate ethnic group, prejudice seems to be the inevitable result. Ethnocentrism helps to set and sustain patterns of social exclusion. Failure to observe these patterns by the excluded group are felt as threats and attacks to tribal status, security, and welfare. Feelings of aversion, fear, and hostility--all more or less in a state of suspension--seems to be the result.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the formation of racial prejudice is not an immediate or inevitable matter but that, instead, it is a product of collective experience, and is dependent upon the extent to which this collective experience fits the conditions which have been specified. The initial conditions of ethnic contact may or may not be conducive to the development of racial prejudice; if the framework of ethnocentrism is not laid down along ethnic lines, racial prejudice is not likely to get started. (As in the case of the early expansion of Mohammedanism which, while involving extensive ethnic contacts, was organized on the basis of religious ethnocentrism and gave rise to religious prejudices.) Further, the incidents of experience in the association between ethnic groups may or may not lead a dominant group to feel that it is being threatened.

When specific instances of racial prejudice are traced through it will usually be found that the prejudice has followed upon a series of experiences or incidents which are resented by a dominant ethnic group and construed as affronts, unwarranted aggressions and attacks--usually as signs of a possibly more abiding and more threatening attack. The history of race prejudice could be written (and would have to be written) in terms of such incidents, especially the more exciting ones. For it is such incidents that stir people, arouse feelings, and initiate that interchange of experience that we can speak of metaphorically as a process of collective digestion. Such collective experiences yield the new meaning and content that become fused into the "conceptualized object" which the one ethnic group has made of the other. Since these collective experiences are an outgrowth of primitive and deep seated feelings, it is not surprising that the conceptualized object becomes emotional and fixed in nature, and that in acquiring such a form it exercises a coercive control over subsequent collective experience.[3] A social situation favoring (and attended by) a run of incidents, especially of a critical nature, which make a dominant ethnic group feel that its position is being jeopardized and its security seriously threatened easily conduces to tenacious racial prejudice. A very powerful complex of

[3]It should be realized that an attitude of racial prejudice, once formed, is transportable. It may be brought into a situation where it has not previously existed; or communicated to those whose own experiences have not given rise to it; in this way, racial prejudice may occur in situations which do not have the features which we have been discussing.

feelings and sentiments may develop, under the influence of collective experience, and become fused into the conceptualized image of an ethnic group.[4]

It is not surprising that the attitude of racial prejudice should become deeper embedded in the individual as the collective feeling becomes more intense and the conceptualized object more emotionally forbiding. It may even get deeply rooted in the individual's antipathies so that the individual's organism rebels at even the thought of entering into certain kinds of relations--especially intimate touch relations--with members of the other ethnic group. Such antipathies seem to be in the nature of strong defense reactions which seem to be symbolic of the collective feelings of exclusiveness and fear of invasion. Indeed, although it might seem incredible, the primitive feeling of tribal preservation may become transferred to the antipathies so that some of them become more important than existence itself. The Southern whites would probably prefer the thought of annihilation to the thought of their women becoming the consorts of Negroes.

The analysis of racial prejudice which has been made should throw some light on the viciousness of behavior in which racial prejudice may at times express itself, and on the ease with which it may become a scape goat mechanism. Since the attitude of prejudice is rooted in a primitive feeling of tribal preservation and may, under the influence of historical experience, become highly symbolical of such a tribal position, it is not surprising that in response to a critical incident, it might express itself in vicious and brutal behavior. Deep rooted fears, restrained and simmering hatreds, strong defense feelings, and strongly felt antipathies may all gain an expression at such a time. Indeed, many other feelings and impulses which enter into the structure of the attitude--especially the more unconscious ones--may gain expression at this time. (It is well to remember, as stated previously, that a variety of impulses and feelings may enter into the attitude of racial prejudice as a result of the collective experiences of the group.)

Light is also thrown on the ease with which racial prejudice may become a scape goat mechanism. Mention has already been made of the fact that the interexchanging of experience between members of an ethnic group may be more influential in the formation of their attitude than actual experience with the group toward which prejudice is developed. This makes ample room for the development of myths and for the focussing on a given race of feelings that have nothing intrinsically to do with it. In this way the attitude toward an ethnic group may come to be the carrier of feelings

[4]It is appropriate to note that the conditions that give rise to prejudice may likewise give rise to prejudice in other kinds of groups. Many instances are provided in American history, especially in the case of European immigrant groups. Usually, such groups were regarded as inferior by the native whites; their effort to improve their economic and social position was frequently regarded as undue encroachment and as a threat pressing themselves in discrimination and occasionally in violence. What is of crucial significance in such instances, as students have frequently noted, is that members of such a group which is incurring prejudice, in not being ethnically distinct, may avoid much prejudice and move into other groups. Group prejudice is difficult to maintain under such conditions; Where prejudice arises against people who are racially distinct and recognizable, the prejudice is more persistent and less easily escaped. This seems to be the chief reason for the greater tenacity of race prejudice as against other forms of group prejudice.

and impulses aroused in other areas of experience. This can be done with special ease in the case of race prejudice, since the ethnic group is sensed as an "inner enemy", as a more or less persistent threat to vital security and existence. At times of critical distress, disturbance, or calamity it is easy to hold it responsible for the insecurity and woes that are experienced.

Before ending the discussion, some attention may be given to the interesting problem of the breaking down of racial prejudice. First of all, it should be noted again that racial prejudice is not inevitable in ethnic contacts. Racial prejudice may not even appear; or if it does appear, it may not take root; or, if it does take root, it may not grow. All depends upon the nature of the social situation and upon the incidents which occur; for these will influence the collective experience of the group and the resulting conceptualizing of the racial object. In the association of races first of all, it is quite possible for people to classify one another on other bases than that of ethnic makeup in making their important group differentiations. In this event, the important group oppositions may easily cut across ethnic lines. This is to be seen historically in religious movements, in nationality opposition, and in some present day radical movements. Indeed, it might be declared that the widespread racial prejudice that exists in the world today is but a historical accident; that it is an expression of a historical epoch in which there is present at the same time heightened ethnocentrism on the part of groups that happen to be ethnically distinct, and a vast increase in contacts between such groups. Racial prejudice seems to have followed definitely in the swing toward modern nationalistic expansion. It may happen in the future, as it has at times in the past, that ethnic makeup will be of little meaning in the important group classifications that people make of one another, and consequently in the "tribal units" with which they identify themselves.

Where racial prejudice already exists, its disappearance or mitigation seems to turn on the condition that the subordinate ethnic group is no longer felt as a threat. This may be brought about in a number of ways. The subordinate ethnic group may keep fastly to an assigned status or to what the dominant group regards as its proper places; hence it is no longer felt as a threat. Or the subordinant group may retire into a segregated position, reducing its contacts with the dominant group, and building up a bilateral society. Both of these adjustments have gone on, and are going on today, in different parts of the world; but they seem to be only temporary appeasements--under modern conditions of communication and contact such adjustments can scarcely be expected to solidify or endure. The other way by which the subordinate group is no longer felt as a threat is by the dominant group changing its conceptualization of the subordinate groups, so that the group no longer is regarded as offensive and unacceptable. To the extent to which the group is regarded as acceptable and assimilable, to this extent it ceases to be regarded as a threat. Where the acceptance is full, the meaning of the original ethnic classification has disappeared.

Modern intentional efforts to break down racial prejudice are usually always along this third line, that is they try to change the idea which people of one race have toward another. We see this effort in the case of some churches, some educational agencies, and some humanitarian groups and individuals, all of whom try to point out the injustice and absurdity of a prevailing view of racial prejudice. The importance of such efforts is not to be minimized, but it is questionable whether they do have or can have much influence where racial prejudice is pronounced, or where the "conceptualized racial object" is strongly set. For the prejudice is certain to be rooted in the antipathies; and these do not change easily even though it be shown that the conceptualization is false and unjustifiable. Efforts to have members of different races appreciate their common human character

by entering into personal contact are likely to be more fruitful; for where people have an opportunity to identify themselves with one another and to learn each other's personal experiences, a collective conceptualization is difficult to maintain. But even such efforts are limited in possibility and run counter again to antipathies. Any profound change in anthipathies is likely to come only as a result of a new body of collective experience built up either around new issues in which the ethnic factor is of no import, or based on a shift in the social scene (such as an extensive population change) in which races are brought into new forms of interdependency.

In closing this paper I wish merely to note that no discussion has been given in it to the topic of counter-prejudice--the defensive prejudice of the subordinate ethnic group against the dominant one. In many ways this counter-prejudice is more complicated, interesting and important than direct racial prejudice. It has been little studied.

RACE RELATIONS WITHIN A BUSINESS FIRM IN HONOLULU

Evelyn Yama and Margaret Freeman

Race relations in Hawaii are in a transitional stage. Pressures are being exerted in all areas, economic, political, cultural, academic, for change in the direction of greater participation by persons of all the diverse ethnic backgrounds living in Hawaii. The process of change is now particularly noticeable in the economic life of the Territory, evident in the business world and inextricably bound up with such things as the labor movement and the growth in the number of people with a long period of formal education. As with all instances of social change, the tendencies toward innovation run against the "tradition dominated" past, the comfortable status quo. Those pressing for the change have a greater vested interest in it, have greater awareness of the difficulties involved and the historically determined ways of dealing with the problem. To those on the other side, perfectly comfortable in the situation as it now stands, an air of complacency reigns supported by rationalizations in favor of prevailing policies.

A growing number of non-Haoles, aided by years of formal education and specific knowledge covering specialized phases of a particular business, feel ready to assume higher positions within the business structure. Frequently these positions are not forthcoming, and those aspiring toward these positions are victims of anxiety and tension. The anxiety and tension exist on two level, the covert and the overt. That is, there is a feeling of being thwarted in their plans and aspirations, but this feeling is amorphous and ill-defined, thus covert. When the thwarted feeling becomes conscious or expressed, its recognition and identification make it easier to deal with.

This problem was studied in the context of a particular Honolulu business firm, which will not be identified by name. The feelings of tension and anxiety, in the firm studied, are mainly centered on the problem of promotion. The employment available to the non-Haoles is on the lower echelons, and seemingly offers no possibilities of advancement beyond a certain point. This is the focal point for the "gripes" and the prevailing discontent. Varying with the level of the position held by the person, differentials in wages, preferential hiring for certain positions, and incompatible work relationships add further to the area of anxiety. The central concern, however, verbalized not only by those in the specific situation, but also by those now in training, is the lack of promotion beyond a certain well defined point in the hierachical structure. It is this dilemma, so real to those involved, that will be discussed first, providing as it does the mainspring of the entire problem of race relations in the particular Honolulu business firm studied.

A strong "we-group" feeling existed among the non-Haoles of this firm, who were held together by the fact that they all face the dilemma of non-promotion beyond a certain point in the organization. As one individual declared:

> There exists a very peculiar situation here in that most of the big companies in Hawaii have always imported people from the mainland to fill in top managerial positions rather than using the local talent we have. I know that there are many capable local people who can fill those jobs and do a good job but they just wouldn't give them the chance. This is the situation at this company. There are many others who, like me, have worked for years in the company and I think, have come to know all we can about the business. At one time, we looked forward to hav-

ing better positions but we learned soon enough that we were going to be advanced just so far and stop. In the last ten years, there have been a number of vacancies and each time, they have been filled by someone from the mainland. This is the chief reason why so many of the Orientals here feel that discrimination is practiced by the company.

Another non-Haole employee of the firm put it this way:

> Company policies are pretty well set and you know for yourself how hard it is to ever change that. Up to the present time, I have observed that the company policy in selecting a department head has been to import someone from the mainland who they claim would be able to handle the job. I can think of lots of people within the company right now who would be able to fill the job but they will never be given the chance. I can't imagine that the day would come when I would see a non-Haole sitting in one of the offices here.

Attitudes of complete resignation and hopelessness about the situation were not uncommon among those interviewed.

> Yes, as far as I'm concerned there is racial discrimination here. Many things which have happened in the past and which I have observed, have all pointed to this fact. I guess it's part of our life, I'm afraid. If the company should ever promote an Oriental to the position of department head, I'm sure that day would be sometime in the dim future. I certainly can't see that day happening in my life time.
>
> As long as the Orientals here continue to remain docile and complacent about this situation, they'll never get beyond a certain point. As far as I'm concerned, I've given up all hope in seeing an Oriental officer, in my life time at least.

Those higher up in the status hierarchy took a more philosophical view as evidenced by their recognition of the organizational set-up of the company and the traditions that stemmed therefrom.

> The stockholders of this company are composed of the members of the Big Five and those connected with them. That's one of the chief reasons why the directors are all Haoles and the officers are Haoles too. Below the level of department heads, the staff is composed of all different racial groups.
>
> The personnel is of the race it is because of the control. Japanese are hired because it is wise to do so. Because it is Haole-owned, it is also Haole-operated in the higher brackets.
>
> So, with the Haole control, it was perfectly natural they import Haoles from the mainland to run the business. The excuse, alibi or whatever you call it, they gave for this was that there was no local talent qualified to take on such a position. This created among the non-Haole employees a feeling of insecurity and a gradual lack of confidence in themselves and soon they retreated into their little shells. As more and more mainland people were imported with the same rationalization given by the company, the local boys had no incentive to expand and learn further than their own jobs and businesses. They had no scope. Therefore, management was again able to point to

> this lack of confidence among the Orientals as further reason why they were not promoted. If the local boys were given any sort of indication or encouragement from the management that they could someday fill one of the top positions--that they should, therefore, expand and join organizations such as the Rotary, Lions, Community Chest, etc., that they should take courses at the University--they would respond and expand accordingly. But they weren't given the encouragement. You see, the cleavage is not only according to race lines but also between the local and the mainland people. The whole thing was really a vicious circle. The less encouragement the local boys received, the more they retreated and the more basis management had for importing mainland personnel.

To the extent that there was awareness on the part of those interviewed of the fact that ownership and control of this "subsidiary firm" were vested to a large degree in the hands of local Haole investors and one of the dominant corporations there was expressed an almost sympathetic view toward the department heads and the officers, whose jobs, they felt, would be jeopardized if ever an Oriental were promoted to an important managerial position. To a great extent, we found these attitudes colored by the island stereotyped conceptions of the "Big Five" and the control they supposedly exercise over the island economy.

> Many of the department heads, I'm sure, don't really feel prejudiced against the Orientals but they're all afraid of losing their positions. After all, they were handed their jobs on a silver platter and get $800 or $900 just for sitting in their private office. Do you think they would ever risk taking the part of the Orientals and standing up for their rights? Of course not. I wouldn't. And as long as the Big Five has control over the islands, things would never improve.
>
> I think there is some feeling among the directors and the officers that there may be certain repercussions if they were to promote an Oriental for the position of department head. By that I mean that the company is largely owned by the Haole interests and they might not like the idea of an Oriental telling them what to do and what should be their business program.

The Haoles in the higher echelons, on the other hand, steadily maintained that no differential in hiring and promotions existed. Even though they realize that no Oriental holds a position higher than assistant junior department head, they rationalized the absence of Orientals in higher-bracket positions by referring to what is "best" for the company.

> Actually, there is a very little discrimination here in the islands. If Orientals are not in the top positions in this company it is because they would be unable to meet or entertain mainland business contacts. Some places these people could not take their visitors and it would prove embarrassing for both the visitor and the host who is representing the company. There are some things the Orientals could not discuss with the visitors, and even more serious, the visitors may have prejudice against the racial background of the host and this would not help the company.

Another Haole expressed this feeling in another way:

> We don't look at race at all. You may find people who grumble, but we advance individuals according to their personal and business qualifications. We, on the official level, have a well based reason for everything we do. There is really no discrimination here. . . . .

Although the term "discrimination" was not used by the interviewers, Haoles who were interviewed employed the word, and one informant discussed a peripheral area of preferential hiring.

> We have no discrimination here. We all get along fine. We are really one big family here. The only discrimination, if you can call it that, is against mainland girls coming here to find employment. We are very reluctant about hiring them because they usually leave after five or six months of work when they get homesick or they marry. They usually spend weeks trying to convince me that they are going to stay here for a long period of time. And I usually make exceptions when I feel that they are really sincere in their feeling and really need the job and there is a good possibility of their staying for a long period of time. Take XX, She's a navy wife and although we don't encourage the hiring of military personnel or their relatives, since XX has had training in our line of work and a good one, we made an exception. She used to work for a mainland company before she came here and she managed to pick up loose ends within a week which is also one of the criteria of employment.

It is interesting to note in these interviews with Haole officials that the response is that no discrimination exists. But that initial response is followed by statements about the jobs that the non-Haoles do have. The inference here seems to be that no discrimination exists on the levels where Oriental employees are allowed. Rationalizations are also given as to why non-Haoles are not at the top of the hierarchical structure. And these reasonings, it is interesting to note, do imply discrimination. It is not "good business" to have non-Haoles in top positions; the non-Haole cannot entertain visitors properly (they are not allowed in the same exclusive clubs that Haole officials can belong to); and so on. This sort of answer seems like a screen to prevent questions being asked on the more controversial areas.

Wage differentials were not mentioned by any of the Haoles interviewed. Regardless of whether there actually is a difference in wages paid to Haoles and non-Haoles, the latter seemed to feel that there was a difference and expressed these feelings to other members of their own groups. For example:

> Salaries are also based on whether you are an Oriental or Haole. Take two new employees coming to work on the same day on the same job--one a Haole and the other an Oriental--I know for a fact that the Haole gets a higher starting base pay than the Oriental. I know it for a fact. Of course, the company would never admit anything like that and would probably give reasons like one person as more responsible or that he had more experience, etc. That's the way things seems to go in this office. Outside of promotions and salaries, though, I think our company treats us very squarely. In our office hours, they never bother us and I think they treat us all alike.

Statements such as this, while made by the non-Haoles only within their own groups, are part of the over-all covert feelings about their positions in the business and a source of discontent and some anxiety about their jobs. Yet the overt expressions follow the theme of harmony widely publicized in writings about Hawaii and are stated grandly at the outset by both the Haoles and non-Haoles.

One is almost inclined in this regard to see the truth in Stonequist's theory of a "dual pattern" of race relations existing in the islands.*

> Hawaii's system of race relations appears to be dual in nature; it contains a pattern of equality and friendliness, and a pattern of inequality and prejudice. The former is a product of the historic relationship between white man and Hawaiian; that of inequality emerged around the economic, political and social changes instituted by the plantation system during the latter part of the 19th century. Largely out of this system, with its importations of immigrant laborers, developed a hierachy of races with white Americans in control.

The pattern of race equality is visible in the public relations of the various races and the correlated social etiquette, in the legal freedom of racial intermarriage, in the absence of a code of segregation such as is found in the Southern United States, and in the local political traditions and institutions. The pattern of inequality is evident in the plantation system and the general economic and cultural predominance of the white population, in the social exclusiveness of the various races, and it is significantly implicit in the persisting political status of the Islands as a Territory of the United States.

The intricacy of this system is not apparent to the casual observer, and it is not clearly in the consciousness of many of the inhabitants. Race consciousness and prejudice are not open and public in Hawaii, and they are partly neutralized or driven underground by a real measure of equality and friendliness. But each racial group--more or less strongly--seeks to maintain a separate social life, to confine its members to in-marriage and to grant its members special favors. The controlling position of the Nordic Americans is particularly important, for they not only possess overwhelming economic power, but also represent American civilization and symbolize American control of the Islands. The other racial groups are responding primarily to American cultural values. But here the dilemmas arise. Assimilation, or Americanization, proceeds successfully to the degree that no barriers of race impede the movement. The equality must be real and thorough-going. The feeling of many persons in Hawaii that the white American is favored here--that persons of differing visibility, particularly Orientals, can advance just so far, creates disillusionment and throws the individual back upon his own group. And then some Americans wonder why Americanization is not proceeding more swiftly! Thus the second generation Orientals must often contend with the restrictive attitudes of two groups; their parents who may view with much concern their rapid Americanization; and those Haoles who urge Americanization and yet draw a subtle line beyond which their hospitality cools. It is no wonder, then, that work relationships are on a rather tenuous basis. To a newcomer in the company, or to someone not familiar with the Island pattern, all appears to be harmonious. For example, the following statement was not uncommonly heard as one started off on the interviews:

*Stonequist, Everett, "The Marginal Man in Hawaii", Social Process in Hawaii, vol. 1, (1936) pp. 19 ff.

We are really one big family here. The only discrimination, if you can call it that, is against Mainland girls seeking employment here. We pay no attention to race as such and each individual is advanced on his own merit and ability.

In regard to social contacts across racial lines, the following was the typical comment:

On the whole, our company socials are successful even if they cross race lines. Also the company stag parties are successful and they too cross race lines. The groups gather according to common interests and that is what makes the party a good party.

Yet getting together socially outside of the office in social relationships occurred in only a few situations. Such contacts across racial lines were largely on the basis of economic levels--those of the same economic bracket seemed to have more in common on which to base their friendship than otherwise. In addition, the non-Haoles who move easily in their own and in Haoles groups were all college graduates and thus seemed to feel a greater security than was true of non-college graduates. As one Caucasian department head stated:

I would welcome anyone in my home. XY is an exceptionally fine person. I wouldn't hesitate to recommend him for anything if he asked me to. I'm not ashamed of anything he might do. He is at home anywhere. Yes, I would especially make him welcome at my home. In fact, the times that he has been over, we had a really enjoyable time.

Among persons on the lower echelons, there was prevalent a feeling that to mix socially with the so-called "higher-ups" in the company was to curry favor and therefore, not in line with certain accepted patterns of behavior within the particular group. This feeling was best expressed by an Oriental, a relative newcomer to the company:

One big failing I've noticed about the Orientals, especially the Japanese, is their lack of aggressiveness. They are afraid of selling themselves to the company and the management especially. They are afraid of "brown nosing"--of playing up to the top management, because they would be despised by their own small groups. They would rather be a part of their own little circles instead of advancing further. I think it's foolish because after all, if they don't sell themselves, how do they expect to get recognition? They all believe that the only legitimate way of getting ahead is through sheer ability and nothing else . . . I think it's ridiculous. That is my feeling and although, as I said earlier, I am not too familiar with the office situation, I really think there is a bright future for really capable Oriental students in any field.

Thus even in this minor way, we can see the development of a healthier attitude toward the prevailing policies and practices. Such attitudes will probably grow as more newcomers enter this field with more education and wider social experience. The interviews thus far give one a general idea of the pattern that prevails within this one business firm and one which we feel might well exist in many other large firms in Honolulu with predominantly Haole control. There is a pattern of over-all relationships but the two main elements involved, the Haoles and the non-Haoles, each

share certain feelings about their jobs and their place in the structure, each viewing the total situation through their own specially colored glasses.

The communication between these two elements takes place within a framework of unexpressed, covert group feelings about the company and their co-workers, and particularly among the non-Haoles, who are in the subordinate position, a state of anxiety and tension prevails. The current company structure may appear, on the surface, to be stabilized, but this study suggests that it may be more in a condition of uneasy equilibrium. It is believed that out of sheer economic necessity company policies will have to change in the direction of accepting non-Haoles on the upper echelons. This process will be a gradual one and not readily observed by the casual on-looker. Such shifts in intergroup relations in Hawaii are best expressed by the following words from a Caucasian employee in the firm:

I realize that there is an invisible barrier beyond which the Orientals are not allowed to invade. But even today, there is a change in the prevailing pattern. Takahashi was appointed treasurer of the territory by the governor. This was the first time that an Oriental has held a non-elective position in the Territorial government. And Watanabe is next in line for the position of attorney general. Many others will probably be appointed even if a change should take place next year. Now this trend in politics will undoubtedly carry over into business and that will bring a change here--a change which will lift the invisible barrier that exists here for Orientals.

MY RACE RELATIONS EXPERIENCE AT WORK*

Robert Bean

To understand the following account, a little background is necessary. It begins about 1-1/2 years ago. I was looking for a job where I could make good money during the summer and then work part-time during the school year without too much disturbance or loss of time at work.

At the particular time, I had several job possibilities, but I hadn't found exactly what I was looking for. I was eating lunch in a cafe when a man joined me for a cup of coffee. He was vaguely familiar, but I couldn't quite place him. I soon found out that he was a friend of my father. After the customary inquiries, he asked me what I was doing and I replied that I was looking for a job. "Why don't you come to work for me?", he asked. "What doing?" was my reply.

He informed me that he could use another man in his tire recapping plant. I told him that I knew nothing about tires and that I would want to work evenings when school started. He said that was all right, that my big problem would not be in a lack of knowledge about tires, but rather my ability to get along with the other employees.

On this, he elaborated somewhat as follows, that they were all Japanese boys and very closely knit together. For the most part, they had been working together for a long time. He stated that they had tried Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Haole boys before, but none of them had lasted very long. He didn't know why, as the boys all worked well together, and he as a Haole got along just fine with them.

He more or less threw the job at me as a challenge. I told him that I had worked at several places under similar circumstances, and hadn't experienced any great difficulty. He then went on to say that all the tire-recapping shops in town were the same, a closely knit Japanese group intercompany as well as intra-company.

"Well, how about it. Think you can handle it?" "Give me a couple of days to think it over and check on some other prospects. I'll let you know on Friday." This was agreeable and we parted. I couldn't see how I could refuse. The job wasn't too attractive, but the challenge was great.

Friday morning, I went back and accepted the job. We established a wage scale and an understanding of working hours at this time. It was agreed that I would start working on the following day. Going to a new job for the first time is always nerve-wrecking and this was no exception. The boss showed me through the recapping plant, explaining what was going on, and introducing me to the employees with whom I would come in contact. Everyone was very polite and accommodating. The Haole boss left with this remark to my new Japanese boss, "He's all yours; work hell out of him."

The first day went off smoothly. I more or less just watched the simple task of painting rubber cement on the tires which were to be rebuilt. I could sense an air of strained tension and noticed a high percentage of the conversation was in Japanese. I wasn't included in any of the conversation.

*This is a section from a journal prepared for the course "Community Forces in Hawaii".

I knew that Monday would actually be the start of work. I was left cementing tires eight hours a day during the following week. Some conversation was struck up during this time. I eagerly answered all questions, but did not push the conversation. During this week, I had a lot of time to think while I was working. I was determining in my mind who would be hard to get acquainted with, also who resented my intrusion and who I thought could be won over the easiest and how.

There were ten men in the plant, two of them had supervisory titles; the rest just worked there but assumed different degrees of superiority. As stated before, these fellows were all of Japanese ancestry. Above these men in the company were all Haole bosses. These included the president of the company, who never came around and the general manager of the entire company of which we were just one department. The rapport between labor and management was very close, at least on the surface.

There was no excessive ordering around except when an outsider was being shown through the plant. At this time, I would receive all sorts of orders which amounted to the same thing I was already doing. I felt that this was done to show these people who was boss, that in this case, it was a Japanese boss and a Haole worker, instead of the opposite situation which is more common.

I was always being bumped into with tires or rolls of rubber which were being moved along on overhead rails. I felt at this time that it was deliberately done to see if I would become belligerent. Actually I now know that I over-emphasized this angle greatly. It was only partially true; I was just in the wrong places at the wrong time and in the way.

I surmised that two things were bothering the boys. One, they thought that I was a coast Haole, and two, that I was a stooge for the big Haole bosses. I found out later that they feared I was being groomed to run the shop. My first great asset was a good variety of pidgin English. This got me over the first hump and set the stage for the big break.

The Saturday night at the end of my first full week of employment was the fifteenth anniversary of the company. To celebrate this occasion, the company threw a big party at a Japanese teahouse. I mingled with the boys, and drank with them. At the table I could use chopsticks as well as the rest of them, much to their surprise. Also, the fact that I would eat any and all types of Japanese food amazed them. Through this was established the fact that I was a local boy. This constituted half of the battle in establishing good relations with the rest of the boys.

After dinner, we all got pleasantly drunk. The great equalizer had taken effect. We were no longer in the capacity of different racial groups, or as employer and employee. We were just good drinking friends or as they say "pilutes."

Everyone expressed himself without any restraining inhibitions. Only one fellow became antagonistic. He sat down next to me and informed me. "I don't like you G...D... Haoles and never will; you think you're too damm good and are always shoving us around."

After I could see that he was through, I answered him: "I'm sorry you feel that way, but it's okay with me, let's try and keep out of each other's way as much as possible. I think that there is enough room for both of us here in this company."

I offered him my hand. We shook hands, he got up and staggered off. Since this time, I have been with this fellow many times, both at work and at parties. If he still dislikes the Haoles so violently, he has never shown it in my presence. I found out since then that he had wanted to transfer into the recapping plant from another department and felt that I had robbed him of his opportunity to do so.

The following Monday morning, everyone had a lot to talk about, and we had something in common. I was then included in many of the conversations. From this time on, a friendship developed between me and most of the fellows. I found that my assumptions of the first week were wrong in many cases. In fact, most of them. The ones I thought would be the most difficult to become acquainted were the friendliest. I was soon put on the night shift in preparation for school to start. Only two men work this shift. Week after week went by without anything unusual happening. I don't think more than ten words were spoken each night between myself and the other fellow. I was wondering if he felt self-conscious about his speech. I knew that he had been raised in Japan, and I thought that perhaps his knowledge of the English language was limited.

Finally, one day one of the other fellows asked me how I liked working with the "silent one." I found out that he just didn't have anything to say. He was that way all the time, not only with me but with the other fellows. Also, I found that he had good command of the English language, but just wasn't a conversationalist.

As I became better acquainted, I moved around the shop more, doing a variety of jobs. When the fellows found out that I had no great ambitions in the recapping trade, but that it was just a temporary means of earning a living, they became more relaxed. The idea that I was in competition with them disappeared. A more friendly attitude developed all the time.

About a year ago, a Filipino boy started work there. He knows his job well and works hard. He had the toughest and dirtiest job in the business and everyone was content to let him have it. When he first started, the boys informed me that Filipinos couldn't be trusted and to be careful where I left my things, and that I had better start locking my locker. I told them I didn't believe in that idea and would wait and see. After a while, I could see the ice breaking for him as it had done for me, and the fellows again relaxed.

One day after he had been there a while, I overheard a conversation between him and one of the Japanese boys. The part I heard went like this, with the Filipino boy speaking first. "He's a pretty good Haole, no?" "The only good Haole is a dead one;" was the reply. I let them know that I had overheard the conversation, and that I thought the phrase applied to the Indians. He said, no, that he had meant the "Portagees," not the regular Haoles.

Whenever I had problems, I went to my immediate supervisor and he took it to the big boss. This was quite unexpected by them and helped in our relationships. They had expected me to go over their heads and deal Haole to Haole. Little things like this helped me become accepted as one of the workers.

In some areas, I became accepted, in others I was just tolerated, and in some cases not even that. In this respect, I think of the company softball team. They asked the men interested to sign up for the team. I did this, but was later informed that they thought it would be better to keep

the team all Japanese players. They hoped it wouldn't cause any hard feelings, but that that was the practice. It was okay with me and I watched the games as a spectator. They were glad to see me at the games, supporting them and we all had a good time. But for some unknown reason I just wouldn't fit on the team.

In the year and a half that I worked at this company, I arrived at the point where I was still referred to as Haole, but the descriptive adjectives attached had mellowed. The term "dammed Haole" no longer had a bad connotation. This is not surprising to me, as I remember while attending a junior college on the Mainland, I associated with six local boys. Only one of these was of Japanese ancestry, and was always called "damned Buddhahead." He thought nothing of it either. Too many times, these harmless terms are misinterpreted and then they become harmful.

Working on this job, I made the following observations:

1. A lot of situations which are attributed to poor race relations are actually of a different nature.
2. People's imaginations run away with them, and they imagine that they are being discriminated against.
3. The use of a foreign language by others creates a sense of insecurity and that you are being talked about.
4. As a whole the boys who served overseas in the armed forces have a more tolerant outlook on race relations.
5. They feel a big difference between a coast Haole and a local Haole.
6. A knowledge of pidgin English is most advantageous in certain situations.
7. Generally speaking, the fellows raised on the plantations are the least tolerant, the more anti-Haole. (Comment: They are the most ill-at-ease with Haoles.)
8. You are accepted in some situations, but not in others.
9. In most cases, racial toleration only goes so far. Toleration, but not acceptance.
10. Hawaii wants racial acceptance, not just toleration.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF MY MOTHER*

Edna Oshiro

In August of 1922, a little over thirty years ago, Mother came to Hawaii from Okinawa, Japan, as a young picture bride of sixteen and a half years. She had lived with my father's parents for seven months before Dad, who had been living in Hawaii since 1913, sent for her. Immediately after Mother arrived in Honolulu, Dad took Mother with him to live on a Big Island sugar plantation.

Ten days after Mother arrived in Hawaii, she went to work in the sugar cane fields. She did all kinds of work, including hanawai (irrigation of the fields), cutting grass (commonly referred to as hoe hana), planting cane slips, flume cane (sending the cane to the mill in water flumes), and pula pula (cutting cane slips). Her earnings at that time were $1.10 a day; plus a fifteen-cent bonus. Dad earned $1.40 a day working in the fields. They lived on Mother's earnings alone and sent Dad's earnings to his parents in Japan. In a few years, they managed to save $800, in spite of Dad's appendectomy.

Despite the hard work, Mother kept right on working until a month before her first child was born in August, 1924. In November, 1925, a second daughter was born. But Mother did not stay at home for long. When the baby was four months old, Mother went back to work for six months, because of some family financial reverses.

By that time, they had moved to a home only a few feet away from the power house in which Dad worked. So Dad was able to help take care of the babies, as far as feeding them and changing diapers were concerned. Whenever Dad worked in the power house at night, he would work in privately owned cane fields during the day while Mother stayed home. Since he worked in the power house every day of the week, he earned over $50 a month. Besides this, they had added earnings from raising pigs and vegetables and selling them. They were able to save some money under the perquisite system, which provided them with free housing and medical care. There were no water and light bills to pay either. All they paid was a five-dollar tax each year.

In May, 1927, a third daughter was born. Shortly after that, Mother decided to weave lauhala hats, which were being sold for a dollar each in the stores. Since there was nobody to teach her how to make hats, she bought one and after hours of careful examination of it, she spent more hours making one. But it was worth her time and hard work because she succeeded in making her finished product look exactly like the sample. Making hats became a money-making venture for her. She earned on the average of $20 a month from making and selling hats.

Two years later in 1929, the first and only son was born. Six months later, Mother took sewing lessons for two months. After that, she started sewing for other people, continued to make and sell hats, and took care of four children.

In 1931, Mother had her fourth daughter. Despite having to care for five children, by 1932, Mother and Dad had saved enough so that in April of

*This is a section from a journal prepared for the course "Community Forces in Hawaii."

that year, they were able to go back to Japan, taking with them the two younger children and leaving the other three children behind in Aunty's care. They were gone for five months, during which time they built a home for Dad's mother, a widow by then. Until Mother made this one and only trip back to Okinawa, she still had not considered making Hawaii her permanent home. She had been working hard and saving to go back to Okinawa to live. But once she saw how much better Hawaii was in comparison with Okinawa, she made up her mind to return to Hawaii permanently.

In October of 1933, the family moved to Camp 18, the power house having been torn down. So Dad began working in the fields again. In September of that year, I was born. Now with six children to care for, and Dad's earnings reduced to $40 a month, the savings diminished. In 1936 and 1938, two more daughters were added to our already large family. When the new baby was three years old, Mother went back to work in the fields, but only for six months. She didn't expect any more babies, but to her consternation, she had two more daughters in 1942 and 1943. That brought to a close her twenty-year child-bearing career. Our family thus has one boy and nine girls.

In the meantime, my eldest sister had quit school after the ninth grade to help the family. During World War II, both Mother and she made lauhala purses and slippers and sold them. We also raised chickens and sold them and their eggs. Since we were all well-trained to look after each other, we pulled through the difficult time with lots of family teamwork.

In 1946, Mother went back to work on the plantation and has been working steadily since. Her wages are now $200 a month, many times more than in her early days. She had to go back to work in order to send us all to school because Dad's meagre earnings alone, a result of his failing health which limited him to light work, were not enough. At this time, there are seven of us in school--four in grammar school, one in high school, one in business school, and one in the university. Mother has sacrificed a lot to provide her children with an education and is proud of the fact that she has never had any debts to pay.

Mother traveled a long way to come to Hawaii, but she does not regret coming here. She loves Hawaii and America as much as any one born and raised here. It was not easy to feel at home in Hawaii at first, away from her family and friends, especially because she was so young. But Mother met the challenge and did not remain narrow-minded. As a result her children have not suffered from the strict and old-fashioned ways and ideas brought over from Japan initially.

At first she was quite prejudiced against other racial groups. This was natural when there were lots of Japanese living in the neighborhood. But now since the Japanese population on her plantation has decreased, considerably, my younger sisters are permitted to associate freely with members of both sexes of other racial groups. This had certainly not been the case a few years back. Mother told me that she couldn't and didn't want to stop her children from making friends with gai-jin (persons of the other racial groups) when there are only a few Japanese girls and boys of the same age. She realizes that in this world you have to be able to get along with all kinds of people of all races. She no longer reprimands her children for making friends with gai-jin.

As far back as I can remember, Mother has always stressed the importance and necessity of education. Consequently, it was not surprising to us that during the second World War, when adult education classes in English were conducted, Mother attended those classes two or three nights

a week. It required a lot of hard work, but she didn't mind it as long as she was learning. She learned to read simple first and second grade books so that she was able to help the two younger children in the primary grades. She found writing much easier than speaking. Although she understands quite a lot of English now, she still has difficulty speaking it. She told me she has been shy about speaking English because she cannot speak good English and would rather not speak pidgin English. "When I learn to speak English," she said, "I want to speak it properly." That explains why we still speak Japanese at home.

Just recently, Mother took the greatest step thus far toward Americanization. She began attending classes which prepare Japanese aliens for naturalization. She seems very enthusiastic about everything she has been learning in those classes. She has been studying the important phases of American history and government and finds that very interesting. As a result, she has taken much more interest in politics. Mother has indeed progressed in a great many ways toward becoming Americanized, and I am very proud of her.

RACE DIFFERENCES IN HOME OWNERSHIP IN THE MAKIKI AREA

Norman T. Westly

The object of this report is to show the rather recent movement of Orientals into certain residential districts in the city of Honolulu formerly inhabited mainly by "whites." The area specifically studied in this report is the Makiki district. In order to show this movement, a tabulation was made of Home Owners who received a Home Exemption from the Territorial Tax Office in 1940 and of those who received an exemption in 1950. In other words, apartment owners, store owners, and people who rented homes were not counted.

This information was secured from the Real Property Division of the Territorial Tax Office, more specifically from their Field Books on Zone 2, Section 4.

Certain plats or subdivisions of Section 4 were left out of this report because the researcher felt they were not part of Makiki proper or pertinent.

The researcher had to determine what race the Home Owner belonged to by looking at the Home Owner's name, and there is therefore bound to be some error in tabulation. The percentage of error was kept down, however, with the assistance of the appraisers in the Real Property Department.

The tabulation follows:

HOME OWNERSHIP IN THE MAKIKI AREA

Race	Number of Owners		Increase or Decrease
	1940	1950	
Filipino	2	8	+ 6
Korean	9	11	+ 2
Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	25	26	+ 1
Japanese	73	176	+103
Portugese	84	68	- 16
Chinese	130	224	+ 94
Caucasian	275	159	-116
TOTAL	598	672	+ 74
	1940	1950	
Total Oriental	214	419	+205
Caucasian	275	159	-116

It can be readily seen by the preceding figures that the number of Oriental Home Owners has almost doubled, while the Caucasian group has decreased by almost half. The ratio of Caucasians to Orientals in 1940

was 1.3 to 1. In 1950, the ratio was 1 to 2.6. The Portuguese group has also decreased. The Portuguese were counted separately in this report instead of including them in the Caucasian group, because of the ease in identifying their names and because of the tendency in the Hawaiian Islands to separate them from the Caucasians.

Within the Oriental group the Japanese and Chinese have increased the most. In fact they are the only ones who show any significant increase. The Koreans and Filipinos have increased very slightly.

Within Makiki, there are areas that are dominated by certain races. In 1940, Plats 7, 8, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 38 (all the plats above Wilder Avenue) were dominated by Caucasians. Plats 19, 20 and 21 (between Lunalilo and Wilder from Pensacola to Keeaumoku) had about an even distribution between the Chinese and the Caucasians. The Chinese were the only other race that dominated certain areas. The Chinese dominated Plats 1 to 4 (the section just Waikiki of Thomas Square to Keeaumoku). The other plats were quite mixed in 1940.

In 1950, Plats 7, 8, 26 and 27 were still controlled by Caucasians, but the other plats mauka of Wilder had been relinquished to Japanese and Chinese dominance or an even mixture. In most cases it was because Chinese and Japanese had bought homes from the Caucasians, but in the case of Plats 28 and 38, near Roosevelt High School the loss of dominance was due to many new homes being built by Orientals on former "white" estates that had been subdivided.

At the present time, two very large estates in Plat 26 (Keeaumoku mauka of Nehoa) are being subdivided by Chinese "huis." In view of the current trend, the homes that are being built on this land will be bought up by Orientals. This will mean the loss of dominance in another plat by the Caucasians.

Plats 1 to 4, which had been dominated by Chinese in 1940, included many more Japanese in 1950 while the Chinese had decreased slightly. There was a decrease in Home Owners in this area, because of new stores of various kinds coming in. Plats 29 and 30 (just mauka of Wilder from Pensacola to Kewalo) changed in dominance from Caucasian to Chinese. Plats 9, 10 and 11 (around Makiki Park), which were well mixed in 1940, had shifted to a definite Japanese dominance. The other plats remained fairly well mixed.

From the preceding information, five conclusions may be made: 1. The Oriental population in the Makiki area is rapidly growing. 2. Of the Oriental races, the Japanese are on the greatest increase. 3. The Caucasians are moving out of the area. 4. Many of the large estates are being sold and subdivided. 5. There seems to be a tendency for races to concentrate in certain plots.

The implications of these facts on urban life in Hawaii, and especially in the city of Honolulu, are significant. The facts show that Honolulu is still growing. The Orientals are gaining rapidly in economic standing. They are moving out of the slums, the poorer districts, and the rural areas; and because of their increased wealth, they are able to buy better homes in better residential districts.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN HONOLULU*

Douglas Y. Yamamura, and Raymond Sakumoto

Social scientists have long been concerned with the problem of the relations between races. An important indicator of these relationships in any community is the pattern of residential segregation. The Territory of Hawaii, with its multi-racial composition and established traditions of tolerance provides an interesting setting to study the problem. This is a preliminary report of an investigation carried out to determine the basis of residential segregation in Honolulu.

A casual study of the American experience with immigrants suggests that in multi-racial contact situations there is the tendency for incoming alien groups to initially locate themselves residentially in relatively homogenous groups. This is generally a result of their alien background and their relatively low occupational status. Under such conditions, to the extent that racial background and occupational level are correlated, residential segregation could have been measured by the use of either one of these two factors. In other words, the factor of racial background and of occupational status might both be considered equally important in determining the distribution of groups residentially. With the passage of time and the assumption that acculturation takes place, the correlation between racial background and occupational level should decline in a democratically oriented society. In such a societal organization we would also expect the absence of residential restrictions against minority racial groups. The choice of where one lives thus might be conceived of as a process by which every family tends to locate itself irrespective of racial background in areas where they can best afford to live, that is, in terms of their occupational level. However, in a society dominated by racist ideologies, the correlation between race and occupation would remain high since the occupational structure would tend to be rigidly determined within the framework of race. Under such conditions, most family units would have very limited opportunities to select homes within areas designated for such racial groups. In a third possible situation an alien racial group might be allowed to rise on the occupational scale to a limited extent, but categoric social rules in the form of public sentiment and restrictive covenants would force individual families of such groups to select their homes within restricted areas of the community. The first situation assumes complete freedom of a family to live in any area they desire. The second and third situations allow for individual choice only within the limits of the sociocultural norms regarding the relative desirability of having the various racial groups in given occupations or as neighbors.

Ecological segregation has generally been defined as a selective process which reveals the tendency for like units such as well defined population types to form clusters within a community. Since the definition of types and the numerical values which can be obtained from the relationships of these types are almost infinite, there is virtually no limit to the number and variety of indexes of ecological segregation which can be constructed. For our purposes, the distribution of population in Honolulu by race and by occupation has been selected for study. It is assumed that no segregation exists if place of residence by census tracts is not influenced by racial and occupational factors. That is, if there is no segregation, the members of all racial groups as well as all occupational groups will be

*Preliminary calculations were made by the members of the class in Population and Society (Sociology 270).

distributed randomly throughout the various census tracts of the city.[1] It is also assumed that complete segregation exists if all the racial or occupational groups, considering the variables independently, are residentially situated so that no member of one group resides in census tracts in which there are members of any other group. For example, the patterns of residence of Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians would be mutually exclusive, that is, each census tract would consist of 100 per cent Hawaiians or 100 per cent non-Hawaiians.

A number of writers have concerned themselves with the development of indexes of segregation.[2] For this preliminary effort, a simple ratio based on the proportion of a racial group or an occupational group to the proportion of the total racial or occupational group in the entire city was utilized thus,

$$\text{Index} = \frac{\%\text{ of a particular group (racial or occupational) in a census tract}}{\%\text{ of the group in the entire city}}$$

A ratio of 100 indicates that there is no segregation in a particular census tract, while values under and over 100 indicate segregation in varying degrees. In order to indicate the general trends, the Chi-Square distribution, which measures the dispersion of values from the expected, was utilized. A perfectly non-segregated situation would be reflected by a Chi-Square value of 0.

The principal intent of this paper is to indicate in a preliminary fashion the shifting basis of ecological segregation from race to occupation. The basic data utilized were taken from the United States Census Bureau reports of the city of Honolulu for 1940 and 1950.[3]

Occupational Position by Race in the Territory

In a competitively organized society such as ours, the residential location of individual families and groups tends to be determined by economic position. Theoretically, the amount of income, operating through occupational level, is the most important factor in the distribution of family units. Thus, it would be of some interest to indicate the relative occupational position of the several racial groups present in the Territory.[4] Table 1 shows the percentage distribution of occupations by race in 1940 and 1950 for the Territory of Hawaii. Without concerning ourselves with all of the patterns, it may be noted that, in general, the greatest disparity from a random distribution occurs in the Caucasian and the Filipino groups. The greatest over-representation in the Caucasian group occurs in the upper occupational groups while the Filipino group is greatly under-represented in these categories. Conversely, the Caucasian group tends to be under-represented in the lower occupational levels, while the Filipino population tends to be greatly over-represented in these categories. When the 1940 and 1950 distributions are compared, there is a tendency for the groups to move in varying degrees toward equal representation in all occupational categories. Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of races by occupation for the same time period. Of particular interest is the tendency for the Caucasian and Chinese groups to have more than one-half of the working forces within the top three occupational groups, while the Filipino group has 86 per cent in 1940 and 64 per cent in 1950 in the unskilled category.

The data on occupation and race for the Territory of Hawaii in 1940 and 1950 exhibits the tendency for the various racial groups to fluctuate above and below the expected number. The Chi-Square measures the dispersion of the values from the expected in both directions and thus may be used as an indicator of general trends. Table 3 summarizes the Chi-Square values obtained for race and occupation in 1940 and 1950. The total Chi-Square values of 40,372.6 for 1940, and 33,501.23 for 1950, indicate a general trend in the Territory toward a more random distribution of occupation by race.

The relationship between race and occupation may also be presented in terms of correlation. A perfect correlation between race and occupation would indicate distinctive distributions of race by occupation or of occupation by race. A correlation which approaches zero is indicative of a movement of all racial groups toward equal representation in all occupational categories. Thus, if the trend from 1940 to 1950 is toward a more equal representation of the races in the occupational structure, then the correlation between race and occupation should decline. The Chi-Square values for 1940 and 1950 were converted into contingency coefficients to measure the degree of association. The contingency coefficient for 1940 was .46 while in 1950 this measure dropped to .41. Thus, the general trend in the Territory has been toward a more equal representation of the races in the various occupational groups.

The Distribution of Racial and Occupational Groups in Honolulu. The percentage distribution of the races in the city of Honolulu for 1940 and 1950 is presented in Table 4. The total population of Honolulu in 1940 was 179,326 and in 1950, 248,034. Of particular interest is the proportional decline of the Caucasian and Chinese population and the doubling of the Filipino group within the city.

[1] For example, if the Hawaiian population constituted 12 per cent of the population of the city in 1950, then each census tract should have approximately this proportion of Hawaiians in the population. This is the expected number if no segregation exists, in this instance, 12 per cent of the population in the census tract.

[2] Cf., Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Shrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," Americal Sociological Review, 12 (June, 1947), pp. 293-303; Wendell Bell, "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," American Sociological Review, 18 (February, 1953), pp. 39-47.

[3] Limitations in the census materials necessitated a mode of analysis which at best can only be suggestive. Among the limitations were the lack of data in the 1940 census of occupation by census tracts and race and occupation by census tracts. The 1950 census lacked information on race and occupation by census tracts.

[4] No comparable information on the relationship between race and occupation was available for Honolulu for 1940 and 1950.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION BY RACE, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1940-1950

	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Others	Total
1940							
Professional	11.94	48.09	10.22	1.74	26.12	1.89	100.00
Managers & Owners	6.20	33.46	9.86	3.18	44.93	2.37	100.00
Clerical & Sal.	8.96	31.12	16.54	3.12	38.86	1.41	100.00
Skilled	11.62	25.01	5.30	4.80	50.63	2.64	100.00
Semi-skilled	16.74	19.90	7.37	13.70	38.20	4.09	100.00
Unskilled	9.09	6.53	3.75	37.68	39.07	3.88	100.00
All Occupations	10.22	18.77	7.01	21.02	39.75	3.23	100.00
1950							
Professional	10.36	47.12	10.16	2.39	27.99	1.98	100.00
Managers & Owners	7.09	28.77	10.55	4.58	46.80	2.21	100.00
Clerical & Sal.	9.88	22.40	12.48	3.83	49.26	2.14	99.99
Skilled	11.97	20.98	5.99	7.28	50.41	3.37	100.00
Semi-skilled	13.77	14.35	4.96	20.75	42.21	3.96	100.00
Unskilled	12.18	10.91	3.23	34.29	36.07	3.32	100.00
All Occupations	11.18	20.71	7.14	15.93	42.12	2.92	100.00

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RACE BY OCCUPATION, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1940-1950

	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Others	All Races
1940							
Professional	8.35	18.28	10.43	.59	4.69	4.24	7.14
Managers & Owners	6.00	17.60	13.91	1.49	11.15	7.36	9.88
Clerical	10.75	20.32	28.97	1.82	11.97	5.41	12.26
Skilled	11.92	13.95	7.94	2.39	13.34	8.68	10.48
Semi-skilled	20.50	13.25	13.18	8.15	12.00	16.04	12.50
Unskilled	42.47	16.60	25.56	85.55	46.85	58.27	47.73
Total	99.99	100.00	99.99	99.99	100.00	100.00	99.99
1950							
Professional	9.12	22.45	13.99	1.49	6.56	6.62	9.87
Managers & Owners	6.97	15.30	16.22	3.19	12.24	8.27	11.01
Clerical	16.74	20.52	33.06	4.59	22.21	13.81	18.98
Skilled	16.64	15.78	13.02	7.16	18.65	17.82	15.59
Semi-skilled	18.54	10.45	10.45	19.79	15.13	20.29	15.10
Unskilled	31.99	15.50	13.26	63.78	25.22	33.18	29.45
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.01	99.99	100.00

TABLE 3

CHI-SQUARE DISTRIBUTION OF RACE AND OCCUPATION IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1940-1950

	Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Others	Total
1940							
Professional	32.09	4,989.94	162.60	1,925.76	510.64	57.29	7,678.32
Managers & Owners	237.05	1,729.30	176.08	2,283.40	99.59	31.01	4,556.43
Clerical	28.89	1,517.21	2,434.09	2,853.42	4.07	186.06	7,023.74
Skilled	31.00	329.57	65.63	2,002.98	471.30	15.18	2,915.66
Semi-skilled	796.98	12.90	1.52	485.98	12.09	48.66	1,358.13
Unskilled	90.18	5,821.04	1,099.21	9,617.81	98.60	112.94	16,839.78
Total	1,216.19	14,399.96	3,939.13	19,169.35	1,196.29	451.14	40,372.06
1950							
Professional	9.92	5,537.55	209.55	1,891.00	778.92	50.05	8,476.99
Managers & Owners	274.26	575.79	298.19	1,484.40	95.49	31.53	2,159.66
Clerical	48.03	435.51	1,259.45	2,906.72	383.68	65.03	5,098.42
Skilled	14.35	.94	48.57	1,218.37	423.78	18.39	1,724.40
Semi-skilled	149.84	491.22	166.69	368.08	.04	93.52	1,269.39
Unskilled	17.30	2,273.79	1,051.86	10,376.92	425.40	27.10	14,172.37
Total	513.70	9,314.80	3,034.31	18,245.49	2,107.31	285.62	33,501.23

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RACES IN HONOLULU, 1940-1950

Race	1940	1950
Hawaiian	17.31	16.97
Caucasian	28.38	23.61
Chinese	12.52	10.77
Filipino	3.84	7.00
Japanese	33.79	37.31
Others	4.16	4.34
	100.00	100.00

Table 5 shows the frequency distribution of census tracts by ratios of the observed to the expected for 1940 and 1950 in sub-tables by race.[5] The cross-tabulated sub-tables are presented for the various racial groups to indicate the specific patterns of distribution of residences by race for 1940 and 1950. The frequencies of the tracts in the intervals which were under- or over-represented in the totals column of the sub-tables were totaled, and the differences in the totals of the two periods were compared. The number of census tracts, relatively under- and over-represented for all the racial groups diminished, excepting the Filipino group which remained at 28 during the two periods. The most marked decrease was in the Others group, 26 to 18; followed by the Caucasian, 26 to 22; the Japanese, 16 to 13; the Chinese, 26 to 24; and the Hawaiian, 17 to 15. Table 6 summarizes the distribution of census tracts by ratios of the observed to the expected in 1940 and 1950 for all races. In general, there is a trend toward a more random distribution of races by census tracts.

[5]Census tracts between the vertical and horizontal solid lines defining category 81-120 are areas where the particular racial group does not deviate from 100, equal representation, by more than 5 per cent. Census tracts above the horizontal solid lines are areas of under-representation, and below, of over-representation of the racial group in 1940. Tracts on the right of the vertical solid lines are over-represented, and on the left, under-represented in 1950.

Census tracts indicated by the broken diagonal line from the vertex are relatively stable areas and all other tracts are relatively changing areas concerning the representation of the racial groups.

EXHIBIT 5

DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS TRACTS IN HONOLULU BY RATIOS OF OBSERVED TO EXPECTED FOR 1940 AND 1950 BY RACE

HAWAIIAN 1940 / HAWAIIAN 1950

HAWAIIAN 1940 \ HAWAIIAN 1950	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	Total
0-40			1							1
41-80		9		1						10
81-120		1	11							12
121-160			2	2						4
161-200				1						1
201-240					1					1
241-280										
281-320										
321-360										
361-400										
401-440										
441-480										
Total		10	14	4	1					29

CAUCASIAN 1940 / CAUCASIAN 1950

CAUCASIAN 1940 \ CAUCASIAN 1950	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	Total
0-40	6	3								9
41-80	2	2								4
81-120			2	1						3
121-160			5	1	1					7
161-200				1	1		1			3
201-240				1	1					2
241-280							1			1
281-320										
321-360										
361-400										
401-440										
441-480										
Total	8	5	7	4	3		2			29

CHINESE 1940 / CHINESE 1950

CHINESE 1940 \ CHINESE 1950	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	Total
0-40	5	2								7
41-80		4	3	1	1					9
81-120			2	1						3
121-160				2	2					4
161-200				2	2					4
201-240					2					2
241-280										
281-320										
321-260										
361-400										
401-440										
441-480										
Total	5	6	5	6	7					29

FILIPINO 1940 / FILIPINO 1950

FILIPINO 1940 \ FILIPINO 1950	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-260	Total
0-40	6	7								13
41-80	2	1		1		1				5
81-120					1					1
121-160		1		2			2			5
161-200			1							1
201-240					1					1
241-280										
281-320							1	1		2
321-360										
361-400										
401-440										
441-480									1	1
Total	8	9	1	3	2	1	3	1	1	29

JAPANESE 1940 / JAPANESE 1950

JAPANESE 1940 \ JAPANESE 1950	0-40	41-80	81-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	Total
0-40	1	1							2
41-80	1	1	11						13
81-120			3	2					5
121-160			2	2					4
161-200				1	1				2
201-240				1	2				3
241-280									
281-320									
321-360									
361-400									
401-440									
441-480									
Total	2	2	16	6	3				29

OTHERS 1940 / OTHERS 1950

OTHERS 1940 \ OTHERS 1950	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	Total
0.40	3	5	1	1						10
41-80		2	4	1						7
81-120			1	2						3
121-160			4							4
161-200			1		2					3
201-240										
241-280										
281-320										
321-360					2					2
361-400										
401-440										
441-480										
Total	3	7	11	4	4					29

EXHIBIT 6

DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS TRACTS IN HONOLULU BY RATIOS OF OBSERVED TO EXPECTED FOR 1940 AND 1950 BY RACE

ALL RACES 1940	ALL RACES 1950										
	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	Total
0-40	21	18	2	1						42
41-80	5	19	18	4	1	1				48
81-120		1	19	6	1					27
121-160		1	13	9	3		2			28
161-200			2	5	6		1			14
201-240				2	7					9
241-280						1				1
281-320							1	1		2
321-360					2					2
361-400										
401-440										
441-480									1	1
Total	26	39	54	27	20	2	4	1	1	174

In order to measure more precisely the difference between the observed and the expected, Chi-Square values were computed for the distribution of races by census tracts for 1940 and 1950. An examination of Table 7 reveals that the Hawaiians, Chinese, and Others groups tended to be relatively least segregated and moving in the direction of less segregation in 1950. The Caucasian and Filipino groups tended to be relatively most segregated and moving in the direction of greater segregation between 1940 and 1950. The increasing segregation of the Filipinos can be partly explained in terms of the tremendous movement of the Filipino laborers from the plantation areas of the Territory into Honolulu. This group generally occupied the lowest occupational positions and tended to congregate in homogeneous clusters residentially. An examination of the Caucasian distribution shows the most marked distortions to have occurred in census tracts 1 and 22. Census tract 1 is the area surrounding Pearl Harbor and Hickam Air Force Base and probably reflects the tremendous in-movement of defense workers and families of service personnel. Census tract 22 is the Waikiki district. The distortion in this area is partly due to the tremendous growth of the tourist industry. The total Chi-Square values of 70,283.86 for 1940 and 67,184.87 for 1950, equivalent to contingency coefficients of .53 and .46 respectively, were obtained. These figures indicate that segregation by race has tended to decline from 1940 to 1950.

TABLE 7

CHI-SQUARE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 29 CENSUS TRACTS IN HONOLULU BY RACE, 1940 AND 1950

Race	1940	1950
Hawaiian	5,469.36	3,542.62
Caucasian	24,685.97	30,222.93
Chinese	8,613.35	7,067.18
Filipino	7,955.54	11,646.04
Japanese	16,290.69	12,640.43
Others	7,268.95	2,065.67
Total	70,283.86	67,184.87

Table 8 summarizes the distribution of census tracts by ratios of observed to expected cross-tabulated by all races and all occupations for 1950. A casual examination of the table reveals the greater tendency of equal representation by occupation than by race. This fact, coupled with the greater dispersion of the ratios by race suggests the greater importance of race as a basis of segregation. Disregarding the extent of deviation from the expected, since a greater number of census tracts are located below the diagonal broken line than above, occupation would seem more important as a factor of segregation than race. Analysis of the distributions by Chi-Square reveals that for race by census tracts, Chi-Square equals 67,184.87, or a contingency coefficient of .46 and for occupation by census tracts, Chi-Square equals 9,959.94, or a contingency coefficient of .32. If this mode of analysis is agreed upon, the conclusion is that race as a basis of segregation still remains of greater importance than occupation.

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF CENSUS TRACTS IN HONOLULU BY RATIO OF OBSERVED TO EXPECTED BY ALL RACES AND ALL OCCUPATION FOR 1950

ALL OCCUPATIONS 1950	ALL RACES 1950									
	0-40	41-80	81-120	121-160	161-200	201-240	241-280	281-320	321-360	TOTAL
0-40	11	10	14	6	6	1	4	1	1	54
41-80	43	60	83	42	31	1	8	2	1	271
81-120	61	117	164	58	48	2	8	1	2	461
121-160	31	38	69	28	25	2	8	2	1	204
161-200	10	15	12	10	4		2		1	54
TOTAL	156	240	342	144	114	6	30	6	6	1044

Summary and Conclusion. The intent of this paper was to report in a preliminary fashion the shifting basis of residential segregation in Honolulu by census tracts. It has been shown that the correlation between race and occupation in the Territory has declined from 1940 to 1950. This suggests that occupational position by race is moving toward a more equitable distribution. Secondly, although variations in residential segregation exist, the correlation between race and residential location in Honolulu has declined from 1940 to 1950. Finally, after analyzing the relationship of race and occupation to residential location, the conclusion was that race still remains the more important factor in segregation. The lack of data concerning segregation by occupation makes it impossible to suggest any trend for this variable. However, it might be noted that since the correlation between race and occupation and race and place of residence has tended to decline in the ten-year period, the correlation between occupation and place of residence may rise in the future. It was proposed earlier that at the time of initial contact of an immigrant group in a multi-racial society, there tends to be a relatively high correlation between race and occupation. Under these conditions there would be no significant difference between the segregation ratio obtained by using either of the two variables. However, as the immigrant racial groups rise on the occupational scale, it is suggested that there is an initial lag in the out-movement of these groups from the areas where they first settled. This lag might be called the transitional period in which there would be the tendency for the correlation between race and place of residence to be higher than between occupation and place of residence. If this is correct, however, after this initial lag, it is expected that as members of the more recent immigrant racial groups rise in the occupational hierarchy, they will move into residential areas conforming socially and economically with their expectations in these higher level occupations. This will result in the increasing importance of socio-economic level and the declining influence of race as a determinant of place of residence in Honolulu.

A NOTE ON HAWAII'S MINORITIES WITHIN MINORITIES

Bernhard L. Hormann

Statistical Recognition of Groups

Hawaii's population statistics have singled out certain minorities from the complex and heterogeneous total for special emphasis and have labeled these groups "races." At the present time, these are: Hawaiians, part Hawaiians, Caucasians, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans. This is a curious list involving "race" in the anthropological sense only in reference to the Caucasians. The other groups are all, with the exception of the part Hawaiians, essentially "nationalities." The part Hawaiians are neither a race nor a nationality but simply the mixed descendants of Hawaiians and all others.

This inconsistency in the statistics represents fairly realistically the sociology of race relations in Hawaii, where the groups which are statistically recognized are the ones which are sociologically rather than anthropologically recognizable. The fluidity of race relations is indicated by the fact that in the past decades, certain races have "disappeared," because in the first place they have become merged into wider groupings, e.g., Germans, Spanish, Portuguese, and all Caucasians as Caucasians, and Asiatic and Caucasian Hawaiians as part Hawaiians, these, in turn being in process of becoming once more simply Hawaiians; or because in the second place, they are too small, e.g., the Puerto Ricans and Koreans, who are now often listed with the still smaller Samoans and Negroes as Others. It is very possible that new groups, now forming through miscegenation, will become important enough for future separate treatment, for instance, the growing element of persons of Caucasian and Oriental mixture.

Such statistics can never reflect perfectly the complex situations and the dynamic processes. Indeed, the statistics become at least a minor force in the direction of checking the fluidity of race relations in Hawaii.

The Problem of the Sub-Groups

One aspect which the statistics have effectively hidden is that of the sub-groups within the statistically recognized groups. By not recognizing them the statistics have acted as a force in reducing the influence of these subdivisions. A perusal of student journals handed in to the writer during the last five years indicates, nevertheless, that these sub-groups are still important in the total picture.

The sub-groups to which allusion is here made involve categories imported from the homeland at the time of emigration. One such division has already been discussed in a previous issue of Social Process, namely, that between the Japanese from the Okinawa or Ryukyu Islands and the Japanese from Japan proper, that is the Naichi or "inner" Japanese.[1] It was pointed out in that article that the problem of the relations between Okinawans and Naichi developed largely in Hawaii where the two groups were for the first time thrown together in large numbers.

[1]See Henry Toyama and Kiyoshi Ikeda, "The Okinawan-Naichi Relationship," Social Process, XIV (1950), 51-65. On sub-groups of the Caucasians see the writer's "The Caucasian Minority," in the same issue, pp. 38-50. His "Racial Statistics in Hawaii" in Vol. XII (1948), 27-35, discusses in detail the changing statistics.

Hakka and Punti

That the Chinese of Hawaii are divided into Hakka, about a fourth of the total, and Punti, about three-fourths of all, is fairly general knowledge. In this case, the two groups, coming from the same geographical area in China, Kwangtung Province, speak different dialects and have somewhat different customs. The sense of difference tends to be lost in the third and fourth immigrant generation. Increasing intermarriage between the two groups and the process of Americanization have both operated towards this obliteration, which is, however, not yet complete.

Portuguese Sub-groups

Among the Portuguese, by far the largest number are derived from the two contract labor groups, those from Madeira and those from the Azores Islands. There seems to have been no serious problem involved in their intermingling. A small earlier group of Portuguese sailors were Negroid Cape Verde Islanders and are sometimes referred to as black Portuguese. Because of their small number and the fact that they were all males, they have not maintained a separate identity. The Azores and Madeira peasant people did, however, feel a certain amount of tension in their relations to a small group of immigrants from Portugal proper, who were of the urban middle-class. The small group of Protestant Portuguese seem to have experienced no serious difficulties at the hands of the Catholic Portuguese, but, by virtue of their special character, were subject to a more rapid process of assimilation.

Ilocanos, Visayans, and Tagalogs

Over 90 per cent of Hawaii's Filipinos are estimated to be Ilocanos, peasants from northern Luzon. Most of the others are also peasants, coming from the Visayan islands of the central part of the archipelago. A small number of Tagalogs from the Manila region preceded the Visayans and Ilocanos. The dialects of these three groups are mutually unintelligible. Little is known about the relations among the three groups except that the town folk did not make as satisfactory adjustments on the plantation as the rural Filipinos.

We may now turn to the student journals to fill in our picture about the relations among these groups of Filipinos.

An Ilocano girl will introduce us to the situation:

> A great number of the Filipinos in Hawaii represent the three sub-groups, namely the Ilocano, Tagalog, and Visayan.
>
> In general most of the Ilocanos have migrated from Northern Luzon and a section called Ilocos Sur, the Tagalogs from Central and Southern Luzon and the Visayans from Cebu, Siquijor, and Leyte.
>
> At_____plantation most of the Filipinos are either Ilocanos or Visayans with a few scattered Tagalogs. In the twenties and early thirties, the Ilocano and Visayan families lived in separate villages. The bachelors of these two groups also tended to segregate. The Tagalogs lived in the same villages with the Visayans and practically refused to associate with the Ilocanos. These segregations were voluntarily set up by the groups themselves and not established by the management.

> My mother while relating her experiences with the Visayans and Tagalogs, said that hatred existed between the Ilocanos on one side and the Visayans and Tagalogs on the other. The Ilocanos regarded the other two as shiftless, lazy and extravagant. The Tagalogs were supposed to be spendthrift and bought unnecessary articles. The Ilocanos on the other hand were thought of as being too thrifty. The Tagalogs thought that they had tails and were savage.

The over-all situation is also well described by this girl of Tagalog-Visayan background:

> In the Philippines, the Tagalogs form the most important group (the national language is Tagalog), followed by the Visayans, and then Ilocanos. However, here in Hawaii the reverse is true. Dad, who is Tagalog, says that the Ilocanos and even the Visayans called us "swindlers, shiftless" because we never stayed on the sugar plantations very long. They preferred to earn money through easier, and it is suggested, dubious methods.
>
> As I've said the tension that exists is primarily between the Ilocanos and Visayans. The rivalry and hostility between the two groups was quite keen until recently. It's been stated that this hostility developed during the early days when the immigrants had just come from the Philippines. The Visayans were the first to arrive but since they were dissatisfied with conditions on the plantations they moved to the coffee farms or went into commercial fishing. The employers thus decided to get the next group from the "Ilocano Islands," that is in Northern Luzon. The Ilocanos turned out to be much more reliable; they worked hard and saved their money. What the Visayans hated was that when the foreman (luna) told the workers to cut grass at 4 cents a line, the Visayans agreed to do so. However, some of the Ilocanos would say, "We'll do it at 3 cents a line", and of course, the luna agreed. "Then all of us had to work like mules," said the Visayans. From then on, both sides tried to mind their own business to keep peace.
>
> When marriage was in question, Visayans parents disapproved strongly when a Visayan girl wanted to marry an Ilocano. They threatened to disown their children. However, there are many cases where an Ilocano and a Visayan did get married and such a marriage was usually what the younger boys and girls called "have to kind." Either the girl was pregnant or else the man had spent so much money on the girl that to refuse him would bring dire results to the girl and mother. The woman is highly prized and the Ilocano man will do anything to win that prize and to encourage him and then to refuse him at the end is bad. These are the times when some of the stabbing cases occur. Incidentally, when such a marriage occurs, it becomes the topic for gossip in the whole Filipino community.
>
> Whenever there's a stabbing you frequently hear the Visayans say, "That a Manog for you. Those Ilocanos for pull knife." Actually, it's more of a coincidence that so far those involved in stabbing have been Ilocanos. This is not an inborn trait of the Ilocano, however. Nevertheless, many of the Tagalogs and Visayans seem to think it's true.

At the local theatres, you will still see segregation whenever Filipino movies are shown. The Ilocanos will generally gather on one side of the theatre and the Visayans and Tagalogs sit on the other side, each side gossiping about the other group. Then in the reserved middle section are the younger people, the sub-groups mixed with the younger boys and girls from the other ethnic groups.

A Visayan girl describes attitudes towards Ilocanos which she acquired in her home:

I am a Visayan and ever since I can remember my parents have always warned me about the Ilocanos. My parents consider the Ilocanos as a little more primitive than the Visayans and as my sisters and I grew up they pointed out traits which they consider primitive, for instance, how the Ilocanos prepare their food and choose their menu. I think my parents did a successful job because whenever I attend any Ilocano functions I become critically aware of what is on the table. I come from a small camp where most of the Filipinos are Ilocano bachelors and every fourth of July and Rizal day, they pool some money together and have a feast. Naturally, we were all invited, but my sisters and I were reluctant about attending the feast because we did not trust the food. I think the Ilocanos sense that and so the Ilocanos always made it a point to see that my father was the chief cook. Even then, we hesitated until my father gave us a specific detailed explanation about the food, for we knew that the Ilocanos would not feel that they were celebrating unless goat meat or dog meat was part of the menu. It has been known that in some cases goat and dog meat have been mixed with cow meat or pork. My sisters and I attended the festivity just to be polite, but we always pick gingerly at our food. I particularly hate the way they slaughter a goat or dog and when I get up on a Sunday morning and hear the bleating of a goat I know that the camp is having a party. It was also frightening to know that some men actually fatten up dogs for slaughter.

How the mutual dislike affects dating practices is told by an Ilocano boy:

There seems to be some feeling of resentment between the Ilocanos and the Visayans of the Filipino race. Being brought up in a community where only Ilocanos were living (I am an Ilocano), I was unaware of any such feeling until I came across it in high school. A good friend of mine asked me, "Are you Ilocano or Visayan?" I answered, "Ilocano, why?" He then told me his story which went something like this: "I have come to hate Visayans. I was dating a Visayan girl and really liked this girl. She liked me too and we got along very well. However, her parents found out I was Ilocano and asked me not to come around and see her again. I felt really bad about it and can't get over it. They (the Visayans) claim they are too good for us Ilocanos, I guess." This boy was a good student, well behaved, and was of fine character and personality. I didn't see any other cause of rejection by the parents.

Rumors about the two groups spread through my community. The Visayans accused Ilocanos of eating all kinds of "junks and rubbish" for food, and of being unclean in general. Naturally the Ilocanos in our community, being proud of their dialect,

defend the Ilocano sub-group by saying that the Visayans are lazy, do not know how to work. (Visayan girls do not know how to keep house), and are "big gamblers." They say that the Visayans "think they're hot", or superior.

With the appearance of a generation of locally-born youth, the attitudes of mutual suspicion are disappearing just as they have disappeared or are doing so in the other groups. Almost all the students who write about the subject mention this change:

This attitude of hate and distrust has changed to one of better understanding and tolerance. As a result of living in the islands and being in a place where intermarriage is not rare, these sub-groups themselves intermarried. It is evident that the Ilocano men have married Visayan girls, but rarely has it been true of the Visayan males to marry Ilocano women. Marriages between the Visayans and Tagalogs have been more frequent than between the Ilocanos and the other two. One probable reason was that there were more Ilocano bachelors in the plantation than there were Visayan and Tagalog unmarried men. Because of this greater number, most of the Ilocano women were already claimed so the women in the other groups were sought.

As new villages arose in the plantation, segregation did not become a setback. The families belonging to the three sub-groups left the old villages and lived in the new ones. In our own "new" village there are several rows of houses where the Ilocanos, Visayans, and Tagalogs live side by side. In most cases, we have lived together harmoniously and have maintained that good neighbor feeling.

There is little or no trace of ill-feeling among the sub-groups of the third generation Filipinos. There may be a few unfavorable comments made against one sub-group but usually these are not taken seriously. It is safe to conclude that we all regard or should by now regard each other as Filipinos. When we are among the young people, we all associate freely and have become very intimate--with no strong reaction made by the older generation.

Thinking back over all my contacts with Visayans, boys and girls, I have never come across any open sign of resentment. That feeling of resentment has died down and doesn't seem operative among the second generation. There seems to be some differences in the food eaten by these two groups. At lunch hour in the fields when we ate together the Visayans seemed to bring highly seasoned foods and seldom ate the Filipino vegetables of "paria, marungay, pumpkins, etc." At Ilocano parties they would sometimes serve meat cooked with blood and also chopped liver and heart. I did not see any at Visayan parties but I went to only a few so I'm not quite sure. All in all, these bits of differences are not very important but they are ones I have observed.

There is still unfriendliness but it has decreased somewhat. Actually the boys and girls my age aren't very particular about the sub-group they associate with. It doesn't make any

difference to us, but some of the parents are still finicky about the idea of Ilocanos and Visayan boys and girls getting together.

The Eta

Through these student journals, it has at last been possible for us to accumulate a little information about the painful subject of the Japanese Eta caste. The existence of Eta immigrants in Hawaii has of course been known, but the subject brings up so much embarrassment that it is difficult to discuss objectively, and the fact is that many Niseis are completely unaware of this group. Yet, the attitudes toward the outcaste lurk among enough first and early second generation Japanese to influence behavior particularly in regard to marriage. It is largely for this fact that it is brought into this article.

Before the legal abolition during the Meiji era of this distinction, the Etas were a group assigned to ghettos in the suburbs of towns and cities, and on the outskirts of villages. As one student explains:

> Things as strong as prejudice cannot be completely abolished at once. Till today, this caste system has continued. The Etas cannot be distinguished by physical characteristics or names, or anything. Nevertheless, there still remains this idea here in Hawaii. The Etas are what they are because of the nature of their occupations long ago. They handled animal matter, considered filthy long ago.

Another student gives additional information about these menial tasks:

> The Etas were the tanners, butchers, shoemakers, broom-makers. They were the cremators and sometimes guarded the bodies. They went through the villages fixing "getas" or wooden clogs.

Apparently, the origin of the Etas is lost in mystery. A plausible explanation is that the introduction of Buddhism brought to Japan ideas of the transmigration of souls and the consequent sacredness of animal life. All occupations associated with death and with the killing of animals became "Kapu," and people associated with those occupations "untouchables." Such people were eventually forced to become an outcaste, maintained by marriage and residential restrictions.

The complete ignorance which many young persons of Japanse ancestry have about the Etas is amazing:

> I am of Japanese ancestry but not until this semester did I discover that there were outcasts in Japan. I first came upon them in reading for the course. My parents have never told me anything about them. I vaguely remember hearing the word "Chorinbo" mentioned.
>
> After questioning a few people, I find that actually very few people know about them. Many people merely know that it's bad to call someone a "Chorinbo". Sometimes they are called "four-fingers."
>
> The reason why people do not know about them is because the people in Japan were not supposed to associate with them. Therefore, they actually had very little opportunity to really know or understand them.

> (Actually differential treatment is no longer allowed by Japanese law. Probably some of the ignorance is due to the parents' realizing that the distinction is not sanctioned by law and as a consequence not telling their children.)

> I never knew anything about the Eta before this year but it was interesting to find that there were outcast people in Japan. My father told me that when Japanese people were first going into business they did not go into the shoe business even on the retail side because people still associated any business dealing with hides and leather with the Eta. However, there are now quite a few stores operated by Japanese in Honolulu and they are in no way associated with the Eta.

By no means, all students had to wait until their college sociology course to learn about the Etas. A few learned about them through some dramatic event in their home community. For instance:

> I was never aware of the antagonistic relationship there existed between the Eta and Naichi groups when I was young. In fact, I never quite knew what the Eta group was or whether it ever existed. However, one experience brought this relationship between the Eta and Naichi groups to the fore and thereafter it has forever lingered in my memory.
>
> There was talk in our town that a certain Naichi girl was going to have a baby from a boy who was a Chorinbo. The girl being a Naichi was afraid to broach this subject before her parents, knowing how much they would object. However, at an opportune moment she told her parents and immediately they both flared up. Her mother was especially hurt and ired at her daughter for getting into such a trouble. Now when the boy came to call on the girl, her sister threw slippers into his face. Not quite knowing why, he asked her what justified such a drastic welcome. The girl's mother than came out yelling, "You Chorinbo! How dare you mark my daughter. I'll never let you marry her and I'll even take it to court to stop this marriage!"
>
> The poor boy was stunned for a minute. Never before in all his twenty odd years of life had he heard of such a term as "Chorinbo." He now began wondering and went back home to his mother to inquire whether he was a Chorinbo and what the term meant. His mother refused to confirm or deny whether he was a Chorinbo or not. Through outside sources he found out the meaning and antagonism this term embraced. I do not know how, but he found out that my father had come from the same section of Japan as his parents. Therefore, one night he came to call on my father. This is when the whole thing became clear and meaningful to me. Dad answered my queries about this whole situation. He told me that in the section of Japan where he came from this boy's family was known to be from the Eta group. Now Dad being a Naichi, the Etas looked up to him. He told me that this boy's mother, whenever she came to his house in Japan, could not enter his house but had to say whatever she wanted from the outside. The Etas had to really humble themselves before a Naichi just because of the menial jobs they had. However, in Hawaii, I remember this boy's mother coming into our house so I asked Dad why he permitted this. He answered, "Well, this is Hawaii and things are different here."
>
> Well, when this boy came to our house he immediately summoned father and asked abruptly, "Is it true that I am a

Chorinbo? My mother refused to tell me but I've got to find out."

Dad did not answer the lad one way or another but said that he should have a good talk with his family. Dad did not wish to commit himself and be in the center of unpleasantness. I was quite disturbed at the fact that this boy's mother did not tell him the truth about himself.

A few days later we heard that the girl was sent to Honolulu and everything between the boy and her was through. This girl remained in Honolulu long enough to have her baby but she gave her baby away. After a few months she returned again to Maui.

Today the girl is married to a Naichi boy whose parents objected violently to the marriage because of her past experiences. The Eta boy is married to a Naichi girl and both couples seem to be very happily married and they both live in the same area. My sister knows the boy who is married to the girl with the past and because of this, he revealed, his mother-in-law is extremely nice to him.

The entire sordid situation no doubt must have caused both families much sorrow and grief. Many people's sympathies were with the Eta lad because of the manner in which he was treated. However, many Naichi people felt that the stand the girl's mother took was justifiable. It seems almost impossible how a family can treat another person in the same manner in which this boy was treated. This lad was condemned by every member of the girl's family--scorned and sneered at until he could take no more. I never before realized how much this relationship between Eta and Naichi families could mean to one family.

In some predominantly Japanese communities the children grow up quite aware of the distinction. They learn to use such terms as "Four Finger" and "Chorinbo," in their neighborhood quarrels. (Four finger may be a reference to the Etas as "close" to the four-footed animals or it may be a pun on the word for death: a group that is socially "dead." Chorinbo seems to be a dialectical term applicable to the Etas. It is not used among educated urban people.)

That the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii kept alive the invidious distinction was suggested above in the incident regarding the prohibition of a marriage to an Eta. Apparently, even the pattern of residential segregation has been continued here and there in Hawaii. Certainly, traditional views about the Etas are firmly held in some circles.

In one particular case, a Chorinbo girl married an ordinary Naichi Japanese boy. After several months of marriage, the boy's family found out the low caste of the girl and proceeded to break the marriage. The boy did not go against his parents, and instead he proceeded with the divorce. After the divorce was granted the girl's parents arranged another marriage for her with a Chorinbo boy. This particular family is on very friendly terms with my family. We played with their children when we were younger, and we did not see anything wrong with our association with these children. (However, I could sense that my mother would not consider it good to marry a Chorinbo.)

Mother stated that during those days, the parents of a groom-to-be and bride-to-be went through the trouble of checking up the family background of the one their son or daughter was to marry.

I was not the first in the family to have been reprimanded for over-familiarity with an Eta family. My aunt had wished to marry James' older brother but since he was a "Chorinbo," they were not permitted to fulfill their intentions. After the wound of heartbreak was healed somewhat, each, realizing the futility of pursuing a lost love in the face of rigid family control over marriages married mates of second choice, but definitely each in his class.

My family wasn't alone in condemning James' family. Other Japanese families were equally opposed to any close social contacts with them. Eventually, as a result of this strong feeling against them, all four of his sisters married haole men because they could not find suitors among the Japanese who would stick their necks out and marry them. These girls were well qualified to be wives, but to the Japanese society the fact that they were "Chorinbos" over-shadowed everything else. It was very unfair for them to be looked down upon because of their grandfather's occupation in Japan.

At another time my friend told me of an incident which opened her eyes to the Eta. She went on to say, "Mother scolded me for making slippers out of reeds in the YWCA arts and crafts class. She said such lowly work belonged to the Etas and that people might mistake me for one of them if I continued to make slippers. She made me promise I would not do such things again."

As is true of all such distinctions among immigrant groups, they tend in time to disappear. The generation now coming to maturity recognizes that the Eta distinction is out of place, and their comments indicate that this distinction will presently be forgotten. In the meantime the very discrimination Etas have experienced has been a spur to success among the males and leads, as was seen in the preceding excerpt, to outmarriage among the females.

Today there are many prominent men and women of this class. Nevertheless they are somewhat branded even here. This is due to the fact that although no one knows about them here, people from their home village will correspond with people here and their backgrounds are discovered. Then they are branded and cannot escape.

Here in Hawaii, the younger generation do not consider that important and do not have prejudices against them. However when it comes to marriage, their families will not allow it. This is one of the reasons why families look into the backgrounds of their future sons or daughters-in-law.

As for me I have no feelings of prejudice against them because I have not been exposed to this situation before. However, one of my girl friends was telling me of an occurrence in her freshman year at the university here. An Okinawan girl came up to her and told her not to associate with a certain girl because the latter was a "cho-rin-bo".

What is most confusing to me here is that there are no characteristics that distinguish the Eta from the ordinary Japanese. Unlike the Okinawans, they eat the same foods, dress in the same manner, speak the dialect of their district. In Hawaii, where there is no law about occupations for different classes of people, the Etas have sought jobs other than those they had in Japan. Now that occupation is not a distinguishing feature the Etas are not noticeable. My mother believes that the only way we have of knowing who is and who is not, is by finding out from the people of a district, the names of the Eta.

Today I feel that although the barrier still exists, antagonism is not so open and blatant. My contention is that people are becoming more broad-minded and not as sensitive as they used to be. Any prejudices should cease because aren't we all equals as human beings? Who is to say that one group is better than another? These questions will take a long while to answer and only time can tell what the future holds for the Eta group. Will they someday be completely accepted by the Naichis without any reservations? Time will tell.

Conclusion

The writer, who spent four years in Kwangtung Province, China, is aware of the deep and long-enduring cleavage between the Punti and Hakka. The virtual elimination of the cleavage within three and four generations of life in American Hawaii suggests a fluidity in the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations in Hawaii which almost completely reverses the rigidity in the patterns of the pre-industrial relatively stable peasant world. The materials presented in this article on the Filipino sub-groups and on the Japanese Etas confirm this picture of fluidity in Hawaii's system of race relations.

SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING HAOLE-JAPANESE MARRIAGES IN HAWAII

Kunio Nagoshi and Charles Nishimura

This article is based upon a study made by us in late 1952. We interviewed several persons, mostly of Japanese ancestry like ourselves, regarding their attitudes and experiences relating to marriages between Haole (Caucasian) men and local-born Japanese women. Seven of the persons interviewed were women of Japanese ancestry who themselves were married to Haole men. Others interviewed included two of the Haole husbands, a step-father, siblings, and friends of these seven women. All but one (J-1) of the seven women had completed at least a high school education, three had already completed a college education, and one was a student at the University of Hawaii. They cannot be regarded as a representative sample of women of Japanese ancestry who are married to Haole men in Hawaii. All at the time of the study were living in Honolulu. Their educational level would undoubtedly average well above the median educational attainment of this category of persons in the Islands. It may be taken for granted that they deviate from "representativeness" in several other important respects. The reader should regard the present study as exploratory in character, and as useful primarily in suggesting the kinds of reactions and experiences to be found among a somewhat better-than-average educated segment of young women of Japanese ancestry married to Haole men in Honolulu. All interview materials quoted are from persons of Japanese ancestry unless otherwise stated.

As Romanzo Adams pointed out several years ago in his important study of intermarriage in Hawaii, "Public sentiment is not opposed to interracial marriage" in Hawaii. However, he went on to add: "True, there is much personal and family sentiment adverse thereto and such sentiment may prevail in social sets or groups of considerable size and importance, but it is the part of discretion to confine the expression of such sentiment to the small intimate group."[1] In all but one of the seven Haole-Japanese couples involved in this study there was some form of opposition to the marriage that was expressed by one or more members of the wife's family. Below are some of the comments on the nature and intensity of this opposition.

> My father was dead at the time of my marriage. My mother naturally objected as all parents did during those days (the couple was married in 1945). She felt I had disgraced the family name by getting married to a Haole soldier. (J-1)

> My mother was angry with my sister for marrying a Haole. You know the "budda-heads," eh! They no like you marry anybody. My mother was "blow-up" because she figure everybody was going talk. (Brother of J-1)

> My parents were strongly against my marriage. Especially my father. He had always been somewhat of a leader among the Japanese in the community, and felt I had disgraced the family by marrying a soldier. My mother objected I think because she thought we could not adjust to each other's ways. (J-2)

[1] Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937), p. 43.

My parents knew that I had been going with (the man who became my husband), but they didn't expect me to marry him. When I told my father I was getting married he was quite upset. He felt our family name had been disgraced enough because my sister had married a Haole and my older brother had married a mixed-breed. I knew my mother was hurt, but she didn't say anything. (J-3)

My father was very mad when (J-3) got married. In fact, he kicked her out of the house. I don't think the mother cared too much, but she used to tell me, "Never marry a Haole man and disgrace your parents." (Friend of J-3)

My family all approved except for my brother. Since my father is dead he took the role as head of the family. He wanted to come down from (another island) to stop me from marrying but I guess someone talked him out of it. (J-4)

Mother objected when she found out that I was going with a Haole boy. She was prejudiced because my older sister married a soldier during the war and the marriage didn't work out. (J-6)

It seems as though the parents regret having been so harsh. The mother used to nag her all the time. Later the father got angry with her running around with this Haole guy and said to get out and don't come back again, so she packed and took off. (Friend of J-7)

But this private and family sentiment against intermarriage, as these and many other instances indicate, is often too weak to block the consummation of the marriage. During the present period of change of attitude and action, however, even though a good many people will assume the risk involved in running counter to such sentiment, the majority may be greatly influenced by it. On the whole, one prefers to meet the expectations of the small intimate group to which he belongs even if it is unable to impose any serious penalty for lack of conformity. While such attitudes may not be given free public expression, and while they are not consonant with the doctrines that are symbolized by the general social ritual, they may be fully recognized and widely accepted within the family circle, the social set, or even within the bounds of one racial group.[2]

The Japanese in Hawaii, of course, have no monopoly on this expression within the family circle of opposition to intermarriage. Other studies document the presence of similar reactions, not only within Haole families but also in families of other groups in Hawaii as well. The remarks of a person of Chinese ancestry who was interviewed in connection with another study of intermarriage are a case in point:

Well, after my parents knew that I was thinking seriously about getting married, they objected, not openly, but in many subtle hints about this nice, well-to-do Chinese family having a nice daughter. They're well-to-do and our families were great friends. In other words, they wanted to make a union of the families and keep the Chinese blood Chinese. My wife's family

[2] Ibid., p. 62.

was worse, they objected openly. They objected all the way until they found that we were going to get married anyway and that it was no use arguing.

Where opposition to intermarriage has been expressed by family members, it does not follow that there is always reconciliation after the marriage has taken place. In some instances, increasingly rare, Japanese parents in Hawaii have not only threatened but actually disowned children who have gone through with plans involving an intermarriage, and in a few of these there is no reconciliation between parent and child. More common is a begrudging, gradual accommodation to the event as a fait accompli. In the cases we interviewed there appeared to be a shift in attitudes toward accepting the marriage in each case where the marriage had been opposed.

No single factor seemed to play a predominant role in this process of readjustment. Instead, several factors were operative in the instances of the particular intermarried couples which we studied. One of these resulted when the parents came to the decision that they were not going to be able to dissuade their daughter from going through with the marriage, and that there was nothing to be gained by further opposition. For example:

When she married this Haole guy, they had no choice but to accept things as they were. After all there is no use in staying angry about it, as it was already done. (Friend of J-7)

Getting to know the Haole husband for waht he was as a person was mentioned as another factor facilitating reconciliation:

The attitudes of my family remained about the same except for my older sister. After she got to know my husband better and realized that he was a pretty good guy, her attitude changed entirely. (J-1)

Well, I think after they got to know (my husband) better they accepted the marriage more. My brothers and sisters now talk freely with my husband, and they come to visit us, every once in a while. (J-2)

Before we were married, I had written to her and called her (by phone) to reassure her that we knew what we were doing. I guess she was still uneasy, but she had to accept things as they were. After she met (my husband) her concept changed somewhat. (J-6)

In some instances the previous occurrence of intermarriage in the family has contributed to acceptance of the present one:

I didn't know her folks, but you know that one of (J-2)'s sisters has married out. I think that made it easier for her. (Friend of J-2)

My younger sister is married to a Samoan guy, and my mother thinks that he is better than my Japanese brother-in-law. I think that was in our favor. (J-2)

Evidence of the success and stability of the marriage relationship has entered into the reassessment and increasing acceptance of an intermarriage in the family:

I think our marriage is a success. My husband is a hard worker, and he doesn't fool around like many people I know. He has a good job as an office-manager, and makes pretty good money. In fact, one of my friends told me that if all Japanese-Haole marriages were like mine, there would be no objection to them. (J-2)

All in all I think our marriage has been quite successful. We naturally had our ups and downs, but we have adjusted quite well to each other. My husband doesn't drink like he used to and has provided well for my children and me. My husband gets along very well with my mother now and this makes me happy. He often goes to her home to help her mow the lawn and do other things around the house, and I think she really appreciates it. (J-1)

As in most types of marriages where parental opposition has been expressed, the grandchildren have had a part in melting the hearts of grandparents -- in this case, even where the grandchildren were obviously only "part-Japanese" in physical appearance.

After living on (another island) for a few months we moved to Honolulu. I had no contacts with my parents for several months until my girl was born. I think my parents were curious to see their grandchild so they both came over to Honolulu with my brother to see us. My father seemed to be a little apologetic at first, but after a week's stay with us, he and my husband became friends. (J-3)

I think there has been a big change in (J-3)'s parents' attitude. Now her mother carries her son around and seems to be very proud of him. Her father seems to be a little more reserved, but I think he will change as time goes by. (Friend of J-3)

After the baby got sick (J-2)'s parents changed in their attitude. Now the mother is always at (J-2)'s home. I don't think the father has quite gotten over it. (Friend of J-2)

I think my parents' attitudes have changed, especially my mother's. I guess when she saw how happy (my husband) and I were she changed her mind. I don't think my father has completely forgiven me but he likes to play with my son. They are good friends. (J-2)

When we got married we moved to Honolulu and perhaps this separation between my mother and me helped to change her attitude toward my marriage. When I was in Honolulu having my first baby, my mother flew from (another island) to comfort me since my husband was on the Mainland at the time. After a while she and I got along well since she loved to care for my little son. (J-1)

I think (J-1)'s mother changed her attitude entirely. She got to know (her Haole son-in-law) better and realized he was just as human as anyone else and was a good husband. Grandchildren can melt any grandparent's heart, and I think they did in (J-1)'s mother's case. (Friend of J-1)

Siblings, who have come under much the same influences as those persons of Japanese ancestry who have eventually decided to marry a Haole, may also be a positive factor in bringing about reconciliation of family members. Within the same family, however, the siblings may very well be divided on the issue. In this connection the comments of J-4 above are particularly interesting in reflecting the opposition coming from a brother who had assumed the role of head of the family after the father's death.

Her brothers and sisters didn't object to her marriage. In fact, she met him through her brother. (Friend of J-3)

My brothers and sisters didn't object to my marriage. He and (one of my brothers) clicked. They always used to go fishing together. (J-3)

My brothers and sisters didn't object too much to my marriage, but I sensed that they disapproved. The only one who really approved of the marriage was my sister just below me. She and I are really close, and she would back me up in anything I do. She fought with my parents many times for the way they treated me. (J-2)

Only my oldest sister who is also the eldest in the family objected to my marriage. My other sister and my two brothers didn't object. They felt I was old enough to make my own choices and should marry the person I loved. In fact my younger brother was glad when I got married to (my husband) since they got along very well. (J-1)

I think (J-1)'s brothers and sister helped in changing the mother's attitude by accepting him. Even her older sister who was really against the marriage is good friends with him now. (Friend of J-1)

Only my oldest sister never like the idea. Me and my brother and my other sister never care because we been know (J-1's husband) was one good guy. (Brother of J-1)

My sisters and brother accepted him right away. (J-6)

Only her brother objected strongly to her marriage. Her sisters were all sympathetic and I think that they all hoped such a marriage would come about, since they knew what kind of a man (J-4's fiance) was. (Friend of J-4)

Even though many locally-born Japanese, especially the older ones, oppose intermarriage, the very manner in which this opposition is phrased tends to differ from that voiced by the Issei (first generation, Japan-born). There is, for one thing, less emphasis upon the idea of an intermarriage being a disgrace to the family name, i.e., status of the extended family. Instead, more emphasis may be placed upon the problems of interpersonal adjustment that might result from the as yet incomplete cultural assimilation of the Japanese member of the new family group formed through intermarriage. A locally-born Japanese, now in his early forties, who was interviewed, illustrates a type of ambivalent reaction that is concerned partly with traditional bases for "in-group" marriage but also partly with the importance of cultural assimilation as a basis for mutual understanding and satisfying relationships between husband and wife in the immediate family group. In language usage, mode of dress, and many external things, this man has transcended his ancestral cultural milieu, but with the crucial

issues such as marriage he was not able to dissociate himself entirely from the traditional family cultural norms in which he has been brought up. There was, however, a feeling of the difficulty of bridging the difference between the Japanese group and the Haole group.

> As far as my kids are concerned, I'd rather have them marry Japanese girls. It's more so with Japanese women. Just figure how difficult it will be for her to bring her Haole husband to a Japanese community to live. He'd be out of place in a place like that. Suppose she should go to the mainland with him, could she go to the social functions with him? This may not be true with college grads but more with those girls who are not too good looking and work as waitresses and sales girls like that. They wouldn't know how to act with his people. That's why I say it's not too bad when local boys marry Haole girls, but their wives will have a hard time in associating with his friends. Look at (a Chinese person with a mainland Haole wife). His wife would probably like to have a good time, but she never goes to the places that he goes. My wife knows of another mainland Haole girl that was married to a local guy. She became sort of that way (developed some kind of neurosis) because she had no outlet, and took off for the mainland.

> The reason why the Japanese object to Haole marriages is because they don't know the family background. I wouldn't want any of my nieces to get married to someone I didn't know. (He is married and has two sons but no daughters.) If he's a local Haole, you know what he is and what his family background is. The Japanese are particular about this because, you know, how you like it if your kid is insane -- that's hereditary, you know. Tuberculosis is contagious, so not that. (At one time the Japanese people thought that this was a hereditary disease. There are many who still adhere to this belief.) In the marriage process when the go-between checked the family background, if a case of insanity was found in the family, it was reason enough to prevent the marriage.

A position that is still further divorced from emphasis upon traditional considerations and which emphasizes the love and comradeship relations between the persons contemplating marriage was set forth in some of the other interview data obtained. First, however, reference might be made to comments along this line by a third generation Chinese who was interviewed in connection with another study of intermarriage:

> I think that they wanted me to be sure of myself because marriage is not something to be taken lightly. When I think about it now, I realize how liberal my parents were. But, at that time, it seemed to me as if they were a little doubtful as to my marrying B. When my parents talked about my marrying, they told me that I should wait a year or so before marrying and if B. really loved me, she'd be willing to wait. I knew that B. would be able to wait but I felt I wanted to be married to her then. It's funny when you come to those things, I guess you just can't wait. I talked a lot about it to my folks. I told them of our plans and how we would be able to support ourselves. I was pretty surprised that they finally saw my way. I guess they knew it was what I wanted and if it would make me happy, they were all for it.

In the one case in our study where there was no opposition to intermarriage, the girl's mother herself, in her second marriage, had married a person of British-Chinese-Hawaiian ancestry. This man, the step-father, expressed views which, it is felt, are already widespread and will become even more prevalent in the Islands as the number of parents who are themselves of mixed ancestry increases. Such persons have less of the feeling of strong identification with any particular ethnic or racial group; they may take either an extremely individualistic attitude or one embracing the idea of the solidarity of mankind in general and the dignity of the individual in facing life's crises. The step-father said:

> Every parent wants his kids to have the best. I've been through poverty and worked my way to where I am today. I think I've been pretty lucky. If my kids can better themselves, they are entitled to it. They have a right to their own lives. If I can help them out, I'll help them, but it's up to them. If they have their goals and work toward them, it's good, even if it takes them ten years to reach the goal. He (the step-son-in-law) is studying in school trying to get the goal. That is good.
>
> When I was young, we never thought of far places. If my son-in-law has trouble, even if he's two thousand miles away, I'll go and help him out. This is a small world we're living in. You must have something in common with everybody else. On the personal level we are all the same. Only when politics come in then you start saying this person is on this or that side. You know, Communist, or Republican, like that.
>
> Hawaii is the "melting pot" of nationalities. Through intermarriage we become one. There are barriers such as language and customs, but we have a common American language that we can work through.

Another "straw in the wind" so far as future trends in intermarriage in Hawaii are concerned is suggested by the fact that although objection was expressed by some or all family members in all but one of the instances of intermarriage studied, the evidence is almost unanimous that the brides did not experience a loss or "cooling off" of their former friends. A few sample remarks will suffice:

> I don't think I lost any friends by my marriage to a Haole. My friends are pretty broad-minded. (J-1)
>
> Since I knew (J-7's husband) before the marriage, it didn't affect our friendship. I was one of her best friends when we were in fifth year at the "U." (Chinese friend of J-7)
>
> We became friends when (J-5) was attending the "U." I was at her wedding. Her marriage to (her husband) hasn't changed our friendship any. (Filipino friend of J-5)
>
> I think we have enough sense to make our own judgment as to what we want. It's not a matter of race, but what a person is like or has in him that we look for. (Friend of J-6)
>
> My friends are the same friends I had when I was in college. Whether I was married to him or not didn't make any difference. Most of my friends are school teachers, and we have so many things in common. They accepted him before we were married. (J-6)

I don't think (J-1) lost any friends by getting married to a Haole. Most of her friends like myself were of the second or third generation and were more broad-minded. We knew that they had planned to get married, for they seemed to be made for each other. (Her husband) is a really nice guy. (Friend of J-1)

I don't think her friends objected openly, but some of them became a little cold towards her. For my part I liked her all the more for her courage. (Friend of J-3)

My friends knew that (my husband) and I loved each other and had planned to get married so they weren't shocked or didn't look down upon me when I got married. They knew he was a nice guy and would make me happy. I have friends of all nationalities like everybody else, but after my marriage I naturally got to know more Haole people who were my husband's friends. (J-1)

We have made quite a few new friends, but no racial group predominates. My neighbors are all of different nationalities, but we get along pretty well. They all come over to our house to watch TV. We have never had much trouble acquiring new friends. I guess we both are friendly people and are easy to get along with. (J-4)

The friends I've had before the marriage are still my friends. Most of them are friends I picked while I was in school or through my work relationship. We visit them and they visit us. I guess about half of them are mixed couples, while the rest are all Japanese or all Chinese. We find that the people in the neighborhood are very nice, and we get along fine with all of them. There's a Portuguese couple over there (pointing to her left), and a Japanese couple there (pointing behind), and a Chinese-Haole couple there (pointing to her right). We all own our homes here, so I guess we fall in the same socio-economic class. (J-7)

It seems that the continued assimilation of the Japanese group into the wider community has been influential in bringing about a general change in attitude toward intermarriage, from one of almost universal objection toward one of increasing acceptance, or at least toleration. Increasingly, locally-born persons of Japanese ancestry are coming to look upon "mixed marriages" as being just another marriage with hardly any special significance attached. With the older people who have not yet been completely assimilated, it can be expected, of course, that many of them will continue to voice their opposition to intermarriage. But the younger people are helping to break down the barrier by their lack of differentiation along the racial lines in the friends they make and by their lack of active concern about the fact that friends of theirs are marrying across racial group lines. Along with this seems to go an unprotested acceptance of the idea that in the future the amount of intermarriage will be even greater than it is today. The comments of some of the friends of the couples studied are indicative of these orientations.

It wouldn't matter to me what race a person is. If he is good, it would be all right. We have this church group with Haole servicemen. Some of those guys are real nice. I'm not going with any of them, but I don't think race would be a barrier. (Unmarried friend of J-6)

I think that so long as the people can be as happy as (J-2) and (her husband), there will be more mixed marriages. I think that my parents are becoming more lenient now. My sister goes out with a Chinese boy and my parents don't object. (Friend of J-2)

I believe there will be more mixed marriages in Hawaii, because people are getting to be more broad-minded today. (Friend of J-3)

There will be more mixed marriages in Hawaii, because the younger people are becoming more liberated from the traditional ways. (Friend of J-4)

There are so many mixed marriages in Hawaii already that we can't help but accept them. More and more people are marrying outside their racial group, and they seem to be happy. I don't see why anyone should protest. (Filipino friend of J-1)

I think mixed marriages will be more accepted in Hawaii in the future. Love and companionship should be the basis of all marriages and I think that the people of Hawaii are realizing this fact. (Friend of J-1)

In the midst of such a social climate persons of Japanese ancestry, along with those of other ancestries, may not only feel that they are "doing the right thing" by following the dictates of love, even though this involves interracial marriage, but also that their marriage is merely another example of what will become much more common in the decades to come.

I think there will be more mixed marriages in Hawaii, not only among Japanese and Haoles but among all races, since the younger generations are gradually breaking away from the old traditions. (J-1)

I think that there will be more mixed marriages. I feel that if I can be happy, others can too. (J-2)

Since the War there have been more interracial marriages, and I think from now on there will be more marriages like them. If people realize that the important things in a marriage is the fact that two people love each other such marriages as ours will become more common. (J-3)